LECTURES ON EDUCATION.

VOL. III.

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LECTURES

ON

EDUCATION,

READ TO A SOCIETY

FOR PROMOTING

REASONABLE AND HUMANE IMPROVEMENTS

IN THE

DISCIPLINE AND INSTRUCTION

OF

YOUTH.

BY THE REV. DAVID WILLIAMS.

VOL. III.

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M DCC LXXXIX.

MVSEVM
BRITAN
NICVM

MRS. BLAIR.

MADAM,

IN requesting permission, to add your name and sanction, to those which may give effect to the general purpose of this publication---I have the particular reason, that you have honored the public delivery of the LECTURES *with the most attentive encouragement.*

If I had in view any of the usual objects of Dedications, I might enumerate the accomplishments, for which you are generally admired. It is the thoughtful, anxious, and affectionate mother, who interests my esteem, and commands that sincere respect, with which I have the honor to be,

MADAM,

Your much obliged,

and most humble Servant,

DAVID WILLIAMS.

Great Russel-street,
Bloomsbury,
May 30, 1789.

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LECTURES, &c.

LECTURE XXXV.

PROPORTION OF FACULTIES AND DESIRES.

IN opening the Course of Lectures for the present year, it is agreeable to my general design, to apply the observations, hastily made in my employment, to that fanciful period described by Rousseau, commencing at the age of twelve, and terminating at puberty: wherein he affirms the faculties of the child to be 'more than adequate' to the gratification of his desires.

Rousseau had a consciousness of imprudence, in the unqualified recommendation of idleness until the age of twelve: but though he would not acknowledge an error, he conveyed into his plan provisions for lost time; by suggesting methods of crouding information into a short and imaginary period. It is poetical, to place a calm before a storm: Rousseau, a poet not a philosopher, unavoidably obeyed the impulse of his genius. The beauties which introduce the second volume of the Emile, would have been lost, without the artifice of accumulating apprehensions from the passion of love; and thronging preparations for defence into a small and previous period.

The age to which he refers, I have had more occasions to observe, than infancy; and though I generally recollected the peculiar opinion of Rousseau, I could not trace the slightest ground for it. I requested a friend, who had opportunities of seeing him, to render the opinion a subject of conversation; to mention my disappointment in seeking 'superfluous faculties, or any pe-'culiar season of application and industry,

'previous

'previous to the dominion of love.' Rousseau answered, with peevishness, 'He has been 'conversant with artificial children; and I 'have referred only to those of nature.' It was the answer I apprehended would be given; for he was not prepared, by knowledge or temper, to discuss the maxims of his writings.

I was requested, at the time, to direct the education of a youth, whom his father deemed a child of nature: for he had brought him up, as he imagined, in exact conformity with the principles of Rousseau. The youth was born to a large inheritance; and his father was at leisure to pay the slight attention he thought necessary to him, in the period of idleness. That period approaching a termination; and the boy becoming extremely troublesome or offensive; I was requested to see him, and to suggest some means to appease the tumults he perpetually produced in the family. Though I had only visited occasionally at the house, I had observed the young man; and was nearly in possession of his character.

His parents were remarkably fond of dogs; and were accompanied by them day and night. Justice and mercy to animals, are virtues: a passion for them is an infirmity; sometimes a symptom of degradation. When the boy was brought home from the nurse; for the mother gave herself no concern respecting the precepts of Rousseau; he was introduced, as a favorite, among the dogs; and received a similar species of attention. On all occasions, at all hours, he had access to the apartments of his parents, in common with the animals referred to; and when any entertainment was extended beyond his usual hours of rest, he would, in their manner, lie down on the chairs, or the floor, until the company departed.

The father had pointed him out to me, in these circumstances, with triumph; as prepared for the hardships that might await him, in sustaining his future character. I sometimes expressed a suspicion, the boy had been previously intoxicated; and understood it to be an accident not uncommon, though not necessarily in the father's plan.

When

When I attended the solemn discussion of expedients for proceeding in his education, I found him surrounded by the family, undergoing, with acrimonious impatience, a trifling operation by a surgeon, for deafness, acquired by lying the greater part of the night on the floor; after partaking freely of the entertainment of the evening.

With the usual folly of those who seek assistance in education, I had been announced as something more dreadful than the surgeon. The boy, on seeing me, submitted patiently to the remaining operation; and the mother whispered it, as presaging my future influence: with what sagacity, I did not, and need not explain.

The father opened the moral consultation, with producing his son, at thirteen, as a child of nature; who had never been contradicted or taught; was nearly ignorant of the alphabet; spoke a jargon he had formed out of the several dialects of the family: and was a meer animal, on the supposed plan of Rousseau.

I had some difficulty in restraining my risibility, on beholding a little emaciated

figure; his countenance betraying marks of premature decay, or depraved passions; his teeth discoloured, and his hearing almost gone. Rousseau would have made some dreadful exclamation; and abruptly quitted the room.

I asked, if he thought the boy so healthy and robust; so candid, so destitute of prepossession or passion, as the imaginary Emile?---He could not boast of his health; and he was certainly passionate; an infirmity he inherited from his parents: but he had no prepossessions; he was never sent to church; never read the Bible, or any book of maxims and instructions; indeed he could not read at all. The father then, with precipitance betraying a sense of negligence or guilt, referred to the period, under consideration; and read the following passage from the Emile*: 'This interval, in 'which the individual is able to effect more 'than he desires; though it be not the 'period of his greatest absolute, is, as I 'have already said, that of his greatest 'relative force. This is the most precious 'interval of his life; an interval which offers

* Tom, ii, p. 5, Ed. Amst, 1765.

'itself

'itself but once; an interval extremely short;
'and the more so, as we shall see, that to
'employ it well is of the utmost importance.'

I asked the father, whether he did not suppose the child, left to himself, would perish? He hesitated a little; and said he would.

'Where then are his superfluous abilities,
'or his greater relative strength? Your
'son is either not a child of nature, or the
'circumstances described by Rousseau, are
'imaginary.'

It is not of importance to the present question,--what became of the youth,--it will only gratify your curiosity to know, that from the several hints I suggested, the parents chose the least likely to succeed; and that by the importance assigned to large fortunes in England, he will soon mingle in that senate, which political novelists extol as the model of legislation;---which history, if history become the province of philosophy, may consign to infamy or contempt.

The positions of Rousseau, on this part of the subject which I think unfounded, and injurious in their tendency, are the following.

1. That there is a peculiarity in the season for study—2. And that the approach of love is, under every kind of management, to be dreaded as an enemy to all instruction or improvement. My business, at this time, is with the first of these positions. The passion of love, he treats as a floating cloud; and so artfully, that 'expectation is on tip toe,' while he strews in its way numerous objects, which might otherwise have been introduced with difficulty.

At the commencement of this period, he dates the birth of curiosity; previous years having been devoted to activity. It is distressing to discover errors of serious importance in writings of general credit or authority. I am persuaded, the youth to whom I have alluded, would not have been so greatly neglected, or become so incurably depraved, if the general anarchy of the family had not been apparently countenanced by the paradoxes of Rousseau. They looked forward to an imaginary point of time, in which curiosity and other mental qualities were to receive their birth; or a species of regeneration

regeneration to take place in the constitution and mind of the child. They waited a year beyond the predicted period; and when they produced him to me, he was so diseased in body and mind, that with the powers of the Spartan inspectors, I should have been inclined to doom him to death.

Though it be true, the care usually bestowed on children, is improper or pernicious; it is an error in the application of right principles. Early attentions are the most important; because they affect the temperament; and injuries in its first formation are seldom or never remedied. The same writer seems to injoin and to discourage those attentions: his disciples take up the contradictory hints, as they may justify their systems or habits. In the situations, to which I allude, I have often wished Rousseau had never interfered in education. Mr. Locke had produced from antiquity, all the maxims or opinions, which have given credit to Rousseau. He exhibited them with perspicuity, but without passion; and they were gradually insinuating into such families as must have insured their prevalence. It

may

may be questioned, whether the ardent eloquence with which Rousseau has attempted to anticipate, may not have retarded the event. His fiery fancy alarms; or his imperiousness induces involuntary resistance. His similies, allusions, and language are too poetical for a science, which requires the perspicuity or accuracy of mathematics, and where ambiguity must be peculiarly pernicious.

Disregarding all the poetic ornaments or paradoxes of this part of the work; without which perhaps it would be little read: we shall find the directions of Rousseau, generally in the manner of Mr. Locke; and I think them the best that can be imagined.

He proceeds, however, in geometrical instructions, like an empiric. He alludes rather obscurely to a new method of teaching the science; though Ozanam, in his Mathematical Recreations (Recreations Mathematiques) had explicitly pointed out the same manner of instructing children in its elements.

Mathematics are, in general, so judiciously taught, that it would be difficult to suggest

suggest any improvements: and I have not seen youth, at the age under consideration, prepared to pursue them to their utmost extent.

The introductory lesson to geography, is beautiful, in poetical effect; but I think it offends against the first important principle of the system he has adopted*—'The island 'of mankind (alluding to the banishment of 'a philosopher to a desart island) is the 'earth, and the most striking object to us 'is the sun.' I have not observed the sun to be an interesting object to children; its brilliancy generally offends them. Prating children, who are instructed to talk of every thing, whether with or without correct ideas, make the sun a subject of conversation with as much ease, as common incidents or objects around them. Children led early into the natural world, where alone they find objects comprehensible by their capacities, are not easily induced to concern themselves about the sun—and to introduce geography by astronomy, is the very absurdity for which

* V. ii. P. 8.

Rousseau

Rousseau condemns the prevailing modes of education.

The children in my knowledge, who have succeeded with ease or rapidity in geographical pursuits, have been conducted in a direction exactly opposite to that of Rousseau. They have been taught, by gradual surveys of a house, a neighborhood, and a district. Elevations have been taken, or mountains measured, by directions from several articles in the Encyclopedie or the Philosophical Transactions; and a proper, attentive mode of reading, has been thereby encouraged. Little excursions for measurements or drawings have been made; and the pupils gradually, but speedily, prepared to form correct ideas of houses, villages, towns, counties, provinces, continents, rivers, bays, seas, oceans, and worlds.--In these circumstances, the admirable lesson of Rousseau* would have its full effect: and I recommend it to parents or tutors, as a model in this species of instruction.

I must not dismiss the subject of the pre-

* P. 13.

sent

sent lecture, without recurring to his idea of curiosity. An attempt to date its birth, might furnish controversies similar to those of metaphysicians, on the soul's entrance into the body. It seems to be nearly co-eval with sensibility, and is discovered on the first dawn of desire or aversion. Like those principles, it gradually assumes a form, or acquires strength by time and exercise. Early youth is so far from being destitute of it, that it seems to be the season of its violent or unbounded operations. I must therefore repeat, none of the singularities of Rousseau, have appeared to me so groundless, so destitute of plausibility, as the opinion, that curiosity receives its birth at the period under consideration.---I am acquainted with children who have acquired, before the age of twelve, a knowledge of natural history, and the use of mechanical inventions, which might put philosophers to shame; and they have been stimulated to the utmost diligence or the most pertinent activity, meerly by the management of curiosity.

In

In the period to which Rousseau alludes, there is a kind of attention required, respecting this principle, which has escaped his penetration. In the early years of infancy, it is, it must generally be suffered to diverge in all directions. The season is approaching, when its licentious and penetrating rays should be collected, or its operations restrained.

The approach of love has not, in my observation, borne any similitude to a storm; or had any of those attributes of terror, with which Rousseau has furnished it. Like that of spring, it is gradual, almost imperceptible; it gives rise, existence, or effect to many latent principles, which influence the moral character. Every thing previous to this period, is under the dominion of curiosity, or of mild affections, which, though active in enquiries, are easily satisfied; and have nothing exclusive or ardent in their satisfactions or sorrows. All objects are those of common possession; they are contemplated or lost without any of the interesting emotions, which at this time are springing up in the heart.

In

In the period under consideration, a peculiar and delicate species of justice, which may be denominated Honor, should be cultivated; to prepare young people for the intercourses of those new connections, into which they may be precipitated. This period, however, is so far from giving birth to curiosity, that it is the time in which it should be bound down by cautious but imperceptible restraints. I cannot explain my meaning, in a better manner, than by referring to the conduct of an excellent mother; who, by a marriage deemed unequal, was precipitated into obscurity; and who learned, by her own misfortunes, the methods of preventing those of her children.

It was one of her observations, that friendship precedes love, in point of time; that the character and happiness of youth, depend on those connections, which they either make, or seem to make voluntarily. The observation was not new to me; nor do I imagine it will be, to any pupils of public schools. But she remarked, that children imperfectly educated, on the plans revived by Locke and Rousseau, were either precluded

precluded this previous friendship, by the perpetual and obvious attention of their parents; or they were disqualified by a licentious curiosity, which universally marked them. She had therefore invented lessons of honor, which she intermingled early, with the spirit of desultory or general enquiry, justly deemed the principal agent of education. I was charmed with the wisdom of that preparation for the proper exercise of social affections; but, on revolving the subject, and having recourse to Plutarch, it had not escaped the profound penetration of antiquity. Among the several instances of the effect of that attention, the conduct of Bellerophon, recorded by Homer,* is remarkable. Antea, queen of Argos, became enamoured of him; but not returning her affection, she accused him to the king, (Pætus) whose host he was; who would not, by his punishment, violate the laws of hospitality. He therefore dismissed him, with letters to the king of Lycia; which Bellerophon conveyed unopened, though he

* Iliad, B. 6.

had

had reason to suppose they ordered his destruction. Plutarch observes, on the story, 'A man of curiosity is void of faith.' It is a species of incontinence, which often incapacitates youth for all the duties of friendship or love. Against that incontinence, the address of the mother I refer to, was particularly directed; and the effect, in elevating or strengthening the mind, was obvious and surprizing. The children seemed gradually to acquire the most desireable of all moral privileges; to feel sentiments of confidence and affection for their parents or friends; and to stand in awe, only of themselves.

LECTURE XXXVI.

SCIENCES---IN THE SECOND PERIOD.

MY auditors must be interested by the subjects of discussion here, when they interfere in the mode of composing the Lectures. But I have discarded the disposition, of implicitly following advice; though not, of profiting by it.

Persons immediately occupied in domestic education, are perpetually surrounded with difficulties:---to them the detail of proceedings can never be sufficiently minute. Their exclamations are, 'Explain---give 'instances---tell us, not meerly where we 'are wrong, but point out every mark or 'indication of the right path.'---This is not in my power: if it were, my engagements allow me no leisure for composition; and, in

in the time I mean to allot for reading Lectures, I should not in this method pass over the period of infancy. Parents who cannot seize general principles, or improve instances and examples by similitude or analogy, will not greatly benefit by the Lectures; or by any compositions which can be devised on education.

Persons not engaged in education, think me too profuse of examples; inclined to dwell too long on the nice or early regulations of infancy; and wish me to hasten into the regions of sentiment, taste, reason, or philosophy. In private, as in public institutions, reasons of this nature, render it expedient to recur frequently to the purposes of their formation.

When I was invited to resume the practice of reading Lectures, it was in the execution of a plan, I declared I could not undertake, without risquing the return of ill health; without relinquishing private engagements, which, by giving me a species of independence, were important to my happiness: but that I would read such Lectures, as my time would permit me to compose; and

such as would suit the credit or complexion of my occupations. That was not understood; either by persons, who would have rendered me the instrument of particular designs, or those who now wish me to consult the fleeting disposition of the times, and to enter into a competition with Readers who are amusing the town with fragments of the Belles Lettres. I am sensible, they mean my pecuniary advantage; but they do not understand my interest. I must preserve the Lectures, strictly in an academical style; or I wound myself with one hand, while I appear to be enriched by the other. If I were to open the doors, even to literary amusements, by losing an imaginary rank, I should lose the attention of those persons who now resort here. Disquisitions, in any academical forms, have no effect of the kind; as we see a cloistered lecturer, who has recited instructions to the walls of a college, or exercised discipline in the nursery of a family, rank with the nobles of the land; blend his opinions with those which affect public prosperity; start into ecclesiasti-

cal

cal dignities; and take place of those who have the fate of kingdoms in their hands.

Such is the condition of public prepossession; and such is my situation. I cannot dwell more than I do on minutiæ, because I want time; sometimes information or experience. I cannot give the Lectures the most popular, captivating, or perhaps profitable forms, because I should be instantly ruined in my private connections, by enlisting among the reciters of plays, or the public readers of beauties and deformities.

While on this part of the subject, it may be proper to observe, though the principal intention be, to encourage the disposition in parents, to assemble, to converse, and to hear observations or discussions on the education of children; I shall do every thing in my power to render the Lectures entertaining. An assembly, consisting principally of persons interested in education, wishing to derive information from each other, or from their lecturer; is a novelty, even among the numerous associations or societies of this town. How far our feeble efforts may give it credit or effect, it is

difficult to determine. If we succeed, in any material degree, our private satisfaction will assuredly be attended with public advantage. If we should not, it may be in our power to preserve the memory of the attempt; or to produce an instance against the reproaches of scandal, in which the ladies have countenanced rational or important purposes of assemblies; heard their prejudices, habits, passions, and foibles, treated without ceremony; shewn a solicitude to obtain information or improvement---and failed of giving effect to a society they patronized.

This may suffice, by way of bringing our little institution to its first principles; and it is the proper answer to the obliging hints which have been given me, on various modes of conducting the Lectures, to the supposed advantage of my reputation or fortune.

You will recollect, while animadverting on the lessons of Rousseau, in geography and astronomy, my objections were, principally, to the arrangement. Every man acquainted with these sciences, knows they are blended; that the vicissitudes of day and

and night, summer and winter, or the variations of climates, cannot be understood, without general ideas of the solar system: and the manner of giving them, is admirably exemplified by Rousseau.

He has been blamed, for immediately proceeding to the calculation of an eclipse; but without reason: for children, at the age to which he refers, have a dexterity and perseverance to surmount greater difficulties than those attending the calculation of eclipses. The periods of the moon's motions cannot be ascertained; the longitudes of places cannot be found; the important æras of chronology or history cannot be determined, without calculating the solar and lunar eclipses. The theory of eclipses is clearly stated, in several astronomical treatises of a familiar or popular kind; and the tables for their calculation, constructed in a manner so intelligible, that I do not remember any unusual efforts were necessary to make the children acquainted with them. I recollect, the mathematical assistant, in my own little institution, objected to the early introduction of astronomical calcula-

tions: but I could not perceive any thing influencing his opinion, but prepossession, or a pride respecting the science he professed, very incident to inferior masters.

At the time to which I refer, a philosopher of considerable fame, whom fortune has forced into politics, took refuge from a political storm, in our family; and entered, with ease, the characteristic of genius, into several of its employments. I observed he was particularly pleased with the early application of arithmetical dexterity, to questions of obvious or important use. All those calculations, on the power of compound interest in annihilating debts, or accumulating property, were made as amusements, which have since raised political writers into high degrees of reputation.

It would be superfluous to add, that youth thus conducted, would draw meridians; understand the divisions of time; or the relation of places, by reference to the cardinal points; that globes or maps would be made, not bought; but made by the assistance of artists: that the theory and equation of time would be rendered intelligible;

gible; and the construction or use of time-keepers,----by visiting those who construct them.

Here Rousseau introduces the transactions with the juggler, respecting magnetism. I have tried boys in the manner he describes; but without the effects, admirably painted in the Emile. Children, in the habits of acquiring real information, are not susceptible of the species of competition or vanity, which he is at considerable pains to correct. In attending the deceptions of celebrated exhibitors in London, I never perceived in children properly educated----I mean instructed on the general plan recommended by Rousseau---any thing beyond curiosity: though furnishedwith clues, by which they might have anticipated, or entered into competition with the performer.----Children, brought up in the common method, were generally susceptible of that vanity: and this is not the only instance, in which Rousseau is at pains to correct errors and faults in Emile, which he could not have acquired.

In

In the method of teaching geography I have described, it is difficult to avoid the elements of history. I was led into the observation, however, by an incident. A Gentleman who had gone through a course of polite education in England, and had been many years secretary to an embassy, applied to me for assistance in the execution of particular views, in which geographical knowledge was necessary. Though he had traversed a great part of Europe, and was an excellent linguist; he was unacquainted with the use of the globes. When prepared for considering the divisions of the earth, as the habitations of men, having relations to each other, he suggested the propriety of connecting the description with general history; which should commence with the fabulous origin or settlement of men, and trace them on its surface, in their emigrations, policies, or contentions. I knew no such history: he therefore obliged me to invent a substitute; and we traced traditions or histories, according to my information, from the banks of the Ganges

and

and Euphrates, in every direction over the globe. I have suggested the method to parents and teachers in geography; and they have furnished themselves with hints in writing, which have rendered their conversation with pupils, the best introduction to universal history.

In ascertaining climates, an attention to the effects of heat or cold on bodies, is unavoidable. This leads to the construction and use of barometers or thermometers. The *Collection Academique*, and the French *Encyclopedie*, left us hardly any thing to wish for, on that or any other subject, in the period under consideration. It would be impertinent to refer to the articles; as the indexes of the one, and the alphabetical arrangement of the other, will direct the most indolent enquirer. It may be proper to observe, we never read an article, unless we wanted information in the accomplishment of some purpose, or the construction of some machine. The impressions of our studies were therefore indelible; and no assiduity or pains were wanting, in fully comprehending our instructions. In these circum-

circumstances, the first volume of the Collection Academique, containing the transactions of the first philosophic society instituted in Europe, (the Academy Della Crusca) was read with avidity by youth of thirteen or fourteen, who understood the principles on which heat or cold were measured, as well as any philosophers in Europe; if men, in such pursuits, must be denominated philosophers. The doctrines of air; the construction of air-pumps; the science of hydrostatics; even the pursuits of chemistry, are studies suited to this age: considerable progress should be made in them, previous to the time, when the powers of reflection wholly occupy the mind, and arrange its sentiments, opinions, or principles.

I am sensible of my danger, in approaching the regions of mystery or empiricism; which are eminently those of chemistry. Though it be the science of analysis, and its object information in detail; that information leading sometimes to sudden or great advantages; it awakens a peculiar species of cupidity, which sinks chemists beneath

beneath the ranks of liberal professions, or brands them with mean and odious suspicions. Instead of being the servants of real philosophy, they assume the tone of its masters; and by making riches the ultimate objects of scientific pursuits, they become the dupes of inordinate, insatiable avarice.

There are some honorable exceptions to this general description of chemists; and they are to be found principally among the disciples of Mr. Boyle. The late enquiries on electricity, air, and animal heat, have been conducted in a liberal manner; and though they may not merit the splendid fame with which they have been rewarded; they will separate the names of those who conduct them, from the general herd of empyrical chemists.

Rousseau glances on the subject, in a manner which shews his opinion of its importance, and his ignorance of the science. He introduces * it with some pomp; for he connects with its introduction, the first ideas of utility. 'When we are so far

* Vol. ii. p. 52.

'advanced,

'advanced, as to give our pupil an idea of 'the word *useful*, we have considerable in-'fluence over his conduct; for the word is 'striking, if the sense be adapted to his 'years, and he can see its relation to his pre-'sent welfare. What is the use of that?--'This, for the future, is the sacred word; 'the word determining between him and 'me, on all the actions of life.'

It is the idea, not the word, that determines the voluntary actions of children, from the first moment of their sensibility to pleasure and pain, or to gratification and disgust. Rousseau was a Platonist; and the opinion of utility was not to be introduced in his system, but as an auxiliary; while in life, it is the universal principle of action.

After the solemnity of introducing chemistry, he dismisses the pupil with directions to make ink, and to detect the adulteration of wine. I do not mean to give you a syllabus of chemical processes---the fashion of chemical pursuits has produced Manuals or Books of Elements, as numerous as those on dancing or music.

All

All nature abounds with objects, which chemistry may render useful or convenient. The general principles of the science should be known to every man of property; if not to improve his fortune, or diversify the satisfaction of his mind; to prevent his being the dupe of those subtle and interested impostures, which, under scientific pretences, retain their baneful credit throughout the world. A learned professor*, a prelate of singular enterprize, has had the resolution to propose Lectures of this kind in an English university. I differ with him only, respecting the time, when chemical enquiries should be connected with the studies of youth.---His own Essays are among the most useful and entertaining books for children.

In this detail of pursuits, I have confined myself to general directions; because the French Encyclopedie, and the Transactions of the several philosophical societies of Europe, are the only books which can fully

* Dr. Watson, Bishop of Llandaff.---Pref. to his Chem. Essays, Vol. iii.

answer

answer the purposes to be obtained on the plan---and they must be referred to, or perused, not as courses of reading, but assistances in enquiries or difficulties. The principal skill or address of the tutor, must be to create those difficulties, and imperceptibly to guide the enquiries. Attempts have been made to reduce the scattered science in these publications into systems; and I have mentioned to you, those of *Basedow*, in *Anhalt Dessau*. They afford some assistance to persons who cannot arrange their enquiries; but the information is too general or too scanty, to satisfy the impetuous curiosity of youth, when once it is set on the wing.

The expence of these publications, is an apparent difficulty in the use of them. But families who cannot afford them, should associate with others of similar views. This species of association would have numerous advantages. That torpor which is apt to prevail on the regular arrangement of a family, would be prevented; children would have opportunities of mingling with children; and their tutors would improve

improve or benefit each other. A common library and apparatus might be provided at a moderate expence; and many of the advantages of private and public education be united.

LECTURE XXXVII.

UTILITY OF BOOKS.

IT has been often intimated, that bodies of so much assumed importance or dignity, as the philosophical societies of Europe, would not think themselves obliged, for recommending their Transactions as school-books. Societies in general subsist by fictitious renown; and none more remarkably than those denominated philosophical. The Royal Society of England, is not of inferior fame to any in Europe; yet it would be difficult to point out its utility; unless it be in the publication of the Transactions; which it seems desirous to disavow,* as it were to avoid the imputation of any public service.

* Vid. Prefaces to the Phil. Trans.

My

My friends, therefore, need be under no apprehensions, I may incur the displeasure of Philosophical Societies, by recommending their lucubrations, as amusements for children.

That they may be amused, as well as instructed by them, will be seen by the following queries, which were drawn up at my house, by a little association of pupils, the oldest of which was not fifteen.---They had been disappointed by perusing puerile, improbable, or foolish papers; and proposed sending the queries to the Royal Society; subscribing their names, ages, and place of abodes.

*Q. I. The Transactions containing an account, of its having rained mice in Iceland, we wish to know, whether they had any qualities or properties different from earthly mice--whether they had the same pilfering disposition, and the same predilection for cheese?

†Q. II. We have a similar curiosity

*Q. I. p. 166. Hist. of the Royal Soc.

†Q. II. 267.

concerning the shower of frogs, so solemnly recorded by you!

* Q. III. A man having lived long at sea, on bread and cheese; feeling uncommon pains about him; and having medical assistance †--produced cockle shells.--We are extremely desirous to know, whether the faculty may not invert the process; and by turning cockle shells into bread and cheese, provide a resource in unproductive seasons?

‡Q. IV. A discovery being made, according to your scientific records, that one root of oats produced a hundred and two stalks, because it was cut on the new moon---whether your illustrious body be not remiss in its influence with your royal patron--whether you will not be chargeable with guilt, in any dearth or scarcity in Scotland, for not procuring an act of parliament, that oats be cut only at the appearance of the new moon?

§Q. V. Whether it be not your duty to send deputations to Egypt, to discover the faculty with which you suppose the Arabs can charm crocodiles; and the nature of the talismans or constellated stones, which you

* Q. III. 251. † Glysters administered.
‡ Q. IV. 252. § Q. V. 296.

imagine

imagine to be placed on the banks of the Nile, beyond which the crocodiles dare not proceed?

*Q. VI. Whether you have not been inexcuseable, in not securing or depositing among your scientific treasures, the portative engine of Monsieur Sevier at Lyons, by which the several tempers or inclinations of men, might be known, by bringing it in contact with the persons concerned?

You may imagine, these queries were not sent—I produce them, only to prove the pupils profited by perusing the Transactions—But here we are totally at variance with Rousseau.—His manner of introducing Robinson Crusoe, must be in the recollection of every man who has read the Emile†. 'I 'hate books; they only teach us to talk of 'what we do not understand. It is said 'Hermes engraved on columns the elements 'of the sciences, to prevent the loss of his 'discoveries by a deluge. If they had been 'thoroughly impressed on the minds of men, 'they would have been preserved by tradition. The human brains, duly prepared,

*Q. VI. 374. † V. ii. 69.

are

'are the monuments on which human sciences are most indelibly engraven. Are there no means to collect the instructions scattered in books; to form them into a common object, easy to observe, interesting to pursue, and which may serve as a stimulus even at that age? If a situation could be invented, in which all the natural wants of man could be displayed to the understanding of a child; and in which the means of providing for those wants are successively developed with the same facility, it would be in a lively and plain picture of such a state that we should first exercise his imagination.--Ardent philosopher! I see you already taking fire! give yourself no trouble; the situation is discovered; it is described; and, without injuring you, much better than you would describe it: at least with more truth and simplicity. Since we must have books, there is one which in my opinion, furnishes the best treatise of natural education. This is the first book my Emile will read; this alone will constitute his library for some time; and will ever hold a distinguished place in it. It will

be

'be the text, to which all our conversations
'on subjects of natural science will serve as
'a comment. It will constitute a test, du-
'ring our progress in the acquisition of
'judgment; and until our taste be totally
'vitiated, the perusal of it will give us plea-
'sure. What is this wonderful book? Is it
'Aristotle? Is it Pliny? Is it Buffon?---No
'---It is Robinson Crusoe!'

I must do justice to the art of this passage; before I consider its truth or importance. Horace describes the mountain in labor and producing a mouse, as the proper disappointment of extravagant or ridiculous expectation. Rousseau has had the address to procure importance and respect to a similar process producing similar effect. By giving pomp or magnificence to the introduction of Robinson Crusoe, he has made him the idol of projectors in education through Europe. It is however, nothing more than the mountain producing the mouse. This short passage, which has imposed on Europe, and given splendid popularity to Robinson Crusoe, abounds with contradictions and absurdities. The human brains are the monuments

of human sciences; yet means are sought to collect the information scattered in books. A situation is represented as desireable, which common sense must perceive to be impossible; where the natural wants of a man can be displayed to the understanding of a child. And this, with an effrontery bordering on insanity, is pronounced to be described in Robinson Crusoe.

I believe Rousseau never had an idea of using books in the manner I have already suggested; though it be essential to the execution of the plan he adopted. On the first perusal of this passage with a view to business, I overlooked its contradictory parts; sent for the book, and perused it with impetuosity. I perceived two circumstances, which rendered Robinson Crusoe of no further use to children than any other amusing tale. The hero was out of society, on a desart island; and he was furnished with considerable knowledge of the arts of civilized life. The principle, Rousseau would inculcate, is however just and practicable. We use the assistances of artificial societies, as we do the provisions of nature inherent in our constitutions; and

when

when deprived of the smiles of fortune, we sink into irrecoverable distress. Rousseau wishes to rest the independance or happiness of his pupil, on personal properties; not on the assistances furnished by fortune in society. But his ideas on the subject are extravagant; or his measures would destroy his purpose. Youth brought up on the model of Robinson Crusoe, wholly employed, during the usual years of instruction, in providing for the first and most simple wants of nature, would be fit for no situation in society, and the trouble of their education would be lost.

I am satisfied I pursued in practice, the plan which Rousseau had in imagination; with the advantages afforded me by experience. Our objects were equally to prepare the pupil for the duty or enjoyment of life, by a species of apprenticeship; with this difference, that Rousseau, being guided by imagination, or captivated by fables of savage life, retained his pupil in fairy regions—while mine was forced into society, and the propriety of his lessons immediately brought to a test. Rousseau was impressed by the folly

folly or misery of those, who are taught by education to depend on others, on fortune, or artificial inventions; on any thing but their own powers: he bounded, as usual, into the opposite extreme; discarding all external assistance, and reducing the pupil to an entire dependance on himself.

The true path of reason is between extremes: in society, it is imprudent to confine a pupil to his own powers, as it is to rest his dependance on adventitious assistances. For instance; in common education, the division of a man's time, or the regulation of his appointments, are to depend on his knowledge of the dial-plate of his watch. This contemptible dependance struck so forcibly the imagination of Rousseau, that Emile was to have no watch; but to find his hours and minutes by a superficial astronomy. Such pedantry of shallow science, would probably have extorted a smile from Newton; who, though as great an astronomer as Rousseau, or any of his pupils, availed himself of the general use of a watch. As the petit-maitre, who knows nothing of time, but from the figures on a dial-

dial-plate, is to be pitied or despised; so is the philosopher, who wastes his hours in perpetual observations, while he can have recourse to more summary information.

The assistances which human invention has furnished for our powers, are essential subjects of education in civilized societies. This is the reason, I have ever recommended, that children be made acquainted early with the mechanic arts. These arts are the subjects of drawings or treatises; which, in this method of education, become at once amusing, interesting, and instructive.

But Rousseau says, we are not to read at all; or to read only Robinson Crusoe: because Rousseau understood not the art, though he felt the utility of reading.

I have observed, the prevailing method of obliging children, by punishments or rewards, to apply certain portions of time to books they do not comprehend, is attended with injuries to their understandings and dispositions, which can never be remedied. The fruitless efforts of the mind, in infancy, to understand the subtleties of grammar, the ambiguities of poetry, or the mysteries

of

of metaphysics and religion, are generally succeeded by an indolent acquiescence, fatal to all great or manly exertions. Hence the prevalence of specious ignorance, or servile credulity, in the general class of literati: and hence the meer habit of reading, as pernicious as any in society; it mis-spends time, health, sensibility, memory; and it stifles all the noble faculties of the mind. Yet the highest commendation of the prevailing plans of education is, that they produce or establish the habit of reading. Rousseau saw the evil; no man ever existed with greater sagacity at discovering faults: but he does not propose the remedy; unless it be a remedy, to exchange the habits or manners of savage, for those of civilized society.

In the use he proposes to make of Robinson Crusoe, the light beams on his imagination; but without effect: for he persists in the condemnation of reading. 'This book '(he says) shall be our text, to which all 'our conversations, on subjects of natural 'science, will serve as a comment.'—Here he approached the truth; but did not discover

cover it: for he had not felt the necessity of inventing expedients to direct the various capacities of youth in the road of knowledge.

The arts of writing and printing, though susceptible of such abuses, as may furnish subjects for the wanton powers of poets or witlings; are among the most useful discoveries of human genius. They record inventions, incidents, and events: they are the principal means of preventing the relapse of societies, into barbarism or brutality. That the useful discoveries they preserve, are few, is not chargeable on the arts; but on nature, or the powers of the human mind. To assert, as Rousseau does, that tradition would be preferable to letters, is the extravagance of affected singularity.

With these sentiments of the common mode of reading; of Rousseau's animadversions; and of the real importance or value of books; I had a path to open, in the management or direction of youth.—I may probably be anticipated in it, from the hints already given; perhaps by the necessity

cessity you have been under, to exercise invention in the conduct of your children.

At the time my thoughts were employed by this subject, the youth under my direction were in the general habits of the institutions they had quitted. One of them was distinguished by an aversion to reading; and he seemed disposed to indulge it, where he knew no punishment could be employed. Necessity is the mother of invention: resentment gives it spirit or activity. The young man saw me distressed by his idleness; and triumphed in a manner that provoked me. He had two strong, troublesome passions---he fed delicately, and was fond of horses. I saw my way into his mind through those passions. In our next assembly of domestic legislation, I expatiated on the extraordinary credulity with which we committed our health or lives to the discretion of cooks; and our horses to the judgment of servants. I pointed out the books where every ingredient in the composition of our meals, was traced from its origin to our tables; and where every thing relating to the

the nature or management of horses might be found. I therefore proposed a short and explicit law; by which all things should be interdicted at table (excepting a few specified articles absolutely necessary to our support) and all use of horses, until such accounts were produced of them, by every member of the family, not excepting myself, as would be deemed satisfactory: the penalty of the law to be inflicted, in proportion to our respective defects. The diversion and laughter occasioned by the execution of the law, would have rewarded our self-denial, if we had received no further benefit. The person most difficult to be preserved in good humor, was the cook; who had various articles to prepare; all of which were defective, and many nauseous. But the diligence, the hilarity of the children, were beyond description; except the boy for whom the experiment had been invented. I had not acquired the necessary art of concealment in my situation: perhaps resentment had induced me to let him see, I intended it for him. He bore the mortification two days, without opening a book;

on

on the third, he asked leave to go home; which I did not refuse: and I immediately had a visit from the father, mother, and sister. I perceived by the countenance of the offender, he thought himself avenged. The father opened the business, with rather less of the insolent civility than is usual on such occasions; but he was interrupted by the daughter, who would have instructed me in the usages of a great school, which had furnished her accomplishments, if I had not peremptorily begged to be excused; protesting I had no time or temper but for business.—I thought the matter decided: for it threw the mother into the daughter's party; and I had two to one against me. The father, who had the most sense—I do not mean the gentlemen are always the most sensible—perceived I was serious and determined. He therefore told the young man's story, which had been a little tinctured with falshood. I proposed he should go into the study, and see the effect of the manœuvre on the other pupils. The diligence, chearfulness, and happiness of the young people, affected him—he heard with patience the whole

business

business explained; brought in his son; and declared he would never see him, on any complaint of the family.

I was driven by necessity, as you may observe, to the discovery of a principle in the direction of reading, which will produce any degree of diligence, attention, or actual information, that books are capable of affording.

I need not inform you, the direction was varied, according to the purposes to be obtained. The difficulty, and it is not inconsiderable, lies in the invention of successions or series of occasions and necessities, which may effectually impress the minds of children, in the various tendencies to be given them. Parents or tutors, who cannot invent these motives; seize them as they arise; or obtain them from the assistance of others; must continue to struggle with the inconveniencies of the common mode of reading.

LECTURE XXXVIII.

MODE OF TEACHING JUSTICE.

Soyez justes, pour etre puissans;
Soyez justes, pour etre libres;
Soyez justes, pour etre heureux.

ON the birth of Alexander, Philip is said to have consigned him to the care of Aristotle, with this compliment, 'I return 'thanks to the Gods, not so much for hav-'ing given me a son; as for having given 'him while Aristotle is alive.'

The character of governor, or tutor, so important and honorable in antiquity, is, in modern times, held in little estimation. It does not degrade from the rank of a gentleman;

gentleman; though the civilities due to his station are usually forgotten; and he is expected to submit to mortifications, in hopes of disproportionate rewards. This is owing to the custom of annexing the employment to that of a profession, with which it might formerly have had alliance. When the opinion was sincerely and generally entertained, that the whole purpose of living here, was to prepare for another world, by acts of religion, or exercises of devotion; the clergy were prudently regarded, as the instructors of youth. But a different opinion is at this time entertained: the peculiar acts of religion are separated from the engagements of life; and the manners, habits, and policy of societies, require in education characters different from recluse students, or cloistered monks.

Priests, of every religion, have an interest in preventing the developement of human reason beyond the boundaries of their respective creeds; and it is a principle, without which their orders could not exist, that the human mind be regulated by authority.

Whether they be right, is not the object of the present enquiry: the prevailing opinion is against them; yet they nearly engross the occupation of tutors. This is one of the inconsistencies, often observable in the fluctuation of public customs. It is true, they meliorate its effects, by renouncing, as much as possible, the manners of their order; and it seems to be the study of a clergyman, that his profession should not be perceived by any thing but his dress. The clergy are good classics; speculative mathematicians; diletanti in music, painting, sculpture; they collect shells, coins, medals: in short, they seem disposed to fly to any occupation, from the duties of their profession. The immediate interest of the establishment, and its effect on public manners, are injured: the lower orders of the people are left to wild or designing enthusiasts; and a heavy oppressive tax on general industry is continued, to serve the mischievous purposes of patronage.

It is this patronage, that preserves to the clergy the offices of education. The laws

continuing in force against the sale of livings; and any traffic respecting them, being difficult or dishonorable, when not employed in influencing parliamentary elections; they are held out as rewards, for services in education; for which, however, the clergy are deemed unqualified, and to which they are disinclined. Hence the various circumstances which concur in degrading the immediate character or employment of a tutor; while possibilities in his prospects may be brilliant and enticing: he realizes the fanatic description of a Christian; by faith, mortification, patience, and long-suffering, seeking rewards disproportionate to his merits, or unsuitable to his talents.

This is a fact so remarkable, that if the influence of patronage were not highly valued by the crown, and the nobility, it would produce some alteration in political arrangements. The Episcopal Bench, in the House of Lords, is, in general, furnished from the class of tutors. But, with all the learning or knowledge it may contain, its importance is generally estimated by its vote. This is owing to the early depression of its

members; or to habits of timidity and compliance, produced by dependance. Lawyers, on the other hand, being accustomed early to receive an equivalent for their services, or to rest hopes on personal importance, acquire an audacity, which awes their patrons; and they weave their ambiguity or sophistry into the councils and laws of the country. The clergy, however, have several advantages, which they might improve, into superior qualifications for this employment. They are acquainted with the ancient languages, which are still essential to education. Moral philosophy, under various forms, has assaulted the strongest holds of their dogmas or mysteries; and forced them to adopt its language in their dissertations or discourses. If, instead of adopting it from necessity or fashion, they would employ their principal attention on moral philosophy, they would soon acquire methods of directing pupils to their purposes, as certain and effectual as those pursued by the early priests of the church, to influence or command the communities of Christendom.

It is by the management of moral principles; not by impressions purely mechanical, that the great and noble purposes of education have been ever obtained; and in wise periods of human societies, the business of education has been consigned to moral philosophers: not from the opinion entertained in modern times, that virtue is the effect of precept, or even of example; that youth must be moral, because they are frequently told of moral excellencies, or see moral actions; but on the more rational persuasion, that those who study and understand the springs of action in the human mind, are the proper persons to direct them. I should have preferred the opinions of Hartley or Hume, on the mode of forming the temper, directing or animating the understanding of my child; even if their morals had been irregular; to that of all the devotees of all the religions in the universe, on whose conduct censure could not breathe: because the talents or studies of the former led to a knowledge of the subject, and those of the latter did not.---I do not affirm, the morals of an instructor are unimportant;

but they are secondary circumstances. Acquaintance with the constitution of the human mind, or its mode of operation, is the first requisite; irregularity of manners, may have furnished essential and original informations on the subject: but those manners must not, they cannot, be irregular during the proper occupation of a tutor, on the dispositions of youth. Education is, therefore, peculiarly the province of moral philosophy; and it is only by attention to this truth, modern tutors can rival those of antiquity.

We may perceive the traces of this persuasion, even in the errors of prevailing systems. When religion was substituted for morality, the clergy succeeded philosophers in the education of youth: but in the rage of dissention, they relinquished the philosophical mode of instruction. The tenets of religion being written documents or matters of faith, were committed to memory. When superstition and bigotry relaxed their severity, or permitted the maxims of morality to be blended with those of religion; the same method of teaching them was continued.

tinued. This is the source of a general inefficacy; so dishonorable to modern education. By applying the mode of religious instruction to that of morality, to which it is not adapted, we fail in the formation or establishment of first principles; and with all our advantages over the ancients, in natural philosophy, astronomy, mechanics, mathematics; we continue inferiors in various original conception; the management of passion; independence of character; beauty, utility, or happiness of body and mind.

It has been the object of ingenious men, particularly of Locke and Rousseau, to recommend ancient modes of education: but, though they have given lessons in the manner of antiquity, they do not seem to have been in possession of its general principle; that of rendering passions, affections, or moral principles, the instruments of instruction in the sciences and arts. Indeed, this is not discoverable in every situation. In my own case, I should probably not have seized the hints of Plutarch, or Xenophon, on the subject, and traced them into a principle,

principle applicable to various purposes, if particular difficulties had not obliged me to seek assistances wherever I imagined they might be obtained.

Locke and Rousseau have the merit of those who first struggled to produce the revival of letters: to improve their hints into regular or effectual methods, we have difficulties similar to those of the literati or artists who endeavored, on the models of the ancients, to form an elegant composition, the first captivating statue, or the first beautiful painting. We peruse books for imperfect intimations, as they examined ruins for mutilated forms; and from the arm or the foot, we conceive or execute the figure.

I hope this truth has appeared, in the detached lessons already given. The general principle will assume a more obvious form, and the extent or importance of its application will be easily observable, on the subject of justice; which we are now to consider, according to the arrangement we have adopted.

Though Rousseau, in contradiction to the general principle, on which alone his system can

can rest, forbids all moral considerations during th first period, terminating at the age of twelve; he furnishes, early in that period, a lesson on justice, by the transaction between Emile and the gardener; which I have recommended to you, as beautifully imagined, and charmingly introduced---But it is evident, he did not understand the nature or power of the general principle; which perhaps we shall learn, from the use I made of Xenophon; without whose assistance the lesson of Rousseau would have afforded me little more than amusement: so different, in actual business, are the informations of experience, and the descriptions of poetry!

I have informed you, when a little institution, I directed for a short time, had assumed its form; all differences or disputes, were adjusted according to laws made by the pupils, and executed under their observation.

The business of the institution, like that of all governments, was often obstructed by vexatious impediments. Some of the pupils never incurring the legal penalties; some always

always subject to them. If the sufferers were sufficiently numerous to form factions, something like the spirit of modern patriotism sprung up; and our civil constitution or laws were animadverted upon, or reprobated. In general, the culprits were single or unconnected; and we had nothing to apprehend, but from a quarter whence every thing in education is to be apprehended, the family of the offender.---One of the citizens of our little state was so refractory as to be ever in disgrace; and his patience, being exhausted; he had recourse to his family; where he painted his sufferings with so much address, that he was not suffered to return. The father wrote me the following letter

SIR,

My son was put under your care, because you undertook to instruct him, without punishment. He says, he is constantly punished at your house; and more miserable than he ever was at school, I cannot therefore think of continuing him with you, unless you change your method--We shall be happy,

happy, you would fix a day to explain this matter, or to settle our accounts,

I am Sir, &c.

I returned this Answer.

SIR,

I have adhered strictly to my proposals: for no punishments are inflicted here at my pleasure; or from the effects of misconduct on my passions. The young gentlemen, by my assistance, have formed a small code of laws, to which they equally submit, or suffer the penalties. This is a condition of suffering, and species of punishment, from which no state of society can be exempted. I wish to regulate my family in this manner; not only to avoid the despotism or brutality, of common punishments; but to teach the children the essential principles, or familiarise them to the habits, of regulated liberty and moral virtue.

I have the honor to be, &c.

In

In a few days this Note was brought me.

SIR,

On Wednesday next we beg the favor of your company to dinner; when you will meet some particular friends. And if you can produce any authority for your mode of punishing my poor boy, besides that mad-man Rousseau; you shall have every thing your own way.

I am Sir, &c.

That defiance, trifling as it may seem, induced me, not only to look into antiquity; but to adjust, or to give form to my own ideas, on a subject of importance.

I took some pains in Plutarch, to no purpose: but on looking into Xenophon, with another view, I found the passages I wanted.

At the appointed time, I attended the father and his friends; and suffering them to rise into exultation, at the imputation of novelty or prematurity, in my mode of teaching civil justice; I drew out an English Xenophon, and read the following pas-

passages *--- 'The boys who frequent the 'public places of instruction, pass their time 'in learning justice; and tell you they go for 'that purpose, as those do with us, who go 'to learn letters. Their rulers, for the 'most part of the day, continue dispensing 'justice among them. For the boys have 'against each other, as men have, accusa-'tions of theft, robbery, violence, deceit, ca-'lumny, and such other things as naturally 'occur. When they find any acting un-'justly in either of these ways, they punish 'them: they punish likewise those they find 'guilty of false accusation; and they appeal to 'justice, in a crime, for which men hate each 'other excessively, but never bring to judg-'ment, that is, ingratitude: and if any be 'deemed able to return a benefit, and refuse 'do it, thay condemn him with severity!'

In another part †---of the institutions of Cyrus, Xenophon resumes the subject.

Cyrus being unwilling to leave the court of his uncle Astyages, Mandane asks him, 'how child will you be instructed here in 'the knowledge of justice, when your teach-'ers are in Persia?'--O my mother, said Cy-

* Cyropædia, B. 1. p. 6. † B. i. p. 18.

'rus,

rus, 'I fully understand it already'--How so?--said Mandane--'Because my governor observing me exact in my attention to justice, appointed me judge in the cases of others. 'But I was corrected for not determining justly in a judgment I gave. A tall boy who had a little coat, stripped a short boy who had a larger; put his coat on the little boy, and wore the boy's larger coat himself. In passing judgment, on the transaction, I decreed, each should keep the coat that best fitted him. On that my governor condemned me to punishment; telling me, when I should be constituted judge of what fitted best, I should determine in my manner; but when judging whose the coat was, it must be enquired, what right is obtained by possession; whether he who took a thing by force should have it; or whether he who made or purchased, should possess it. He then told me, that actions according to law were just; and those contrary to law were unjust or violent: and he enjoined me to take notice, a judge ought ever to give his opinion, according to law.'

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This brought down the spirits of the company; but did not render the subject intelligible. I was not disposed to take pains on it; as the return of the youth would not have been a compensation for an unsuccessful attempt to educate the whole family. I was satisfied, in the clear perception, that all the purposes of education were to be obtained, with more ease or pleasure to all parties, and with higher advantages to the pupils, by the management of moral principles, than by the common method of inflicting punishments.—That penalties must be enjoined, in all plans, is as certain, as that errors will be committed. But they must be settled, as early as possible, by a species of social contract. The child is then emancipated from slavery; will endure greater severities, without debasement or irritation, and be instigated to higher degrees of application, than by any mode of applying arbitrary or brutal punishment.

To obviate the difficulties of parents or tutors on the subject, it may be proper to inform you, though I am now attending

Rousseau in the years immediately preceding puberty, I have lately put children into this method, under the direction of an attentive mother; the younger of which is four, and the elder seven. You may imagine, they begin with a single regulation or law, to which the father, mother, governess, and servants, have solemnly agreed to submit; and on the observance of which, the younger child is made to sit in judgment, as often as possible. No new law is made, until every imaginable mode is used of deciding by the old. By these means, a state of order and liberty has succeeded scenes of contention, or exercises of arbitrary power; and the behavior of the children, and happiness of the family, are exceedingly improved.

The first stimulus to the acquisition of knowledge, is an interested species of curiosity. This is succeeded by various affections, arising immediately from domestic relations. These have been under our consideration, in some of the cases where my experience furnished information: and it has been my object to shew their superior efficacy, to the operations of fear, in leading children

children into all pursuits suited to their capacities.

Principles of justice, without which no degree of social intercourse or happiness can take place, were early subjects of our attention; though none of its maxims were inculcated on the memory.

The decision of domestic differences by equal laws, enacted by general consent, and executed with general approbation, elevated the children into situations of importance; stimulated their best principles; or directed their attention and reading on subjects bearing any affinity to justice, in a manner, which must be described in another Lecture.

LECTURE XXXIX.

PRINCIPLES OF JURISPRUDENCE.

Cum multa præclara majorum, tum quod optime constituti juris civilis summo semper in honore fuit cognitio atque interpretatio.

Cic. Off. ii. 19.

ON the subject of justice, I mean to pursue the method hitherto observed; by tracing its origin, and shewing its operation, as a principle of education.

Families are generally regulated by maxims tacitly admitted, having the effect of laws; or by the caprices and passions of arbitrary power. An institution for educating youth on the domestic plan, could not

not well subsist, if its government depend on the will of the master; and fixed maxims never appeared to me so eligible, as laws, however imperfectly made, by the members of the family. That rendered the institution, an image of life; and the youth were impelled to action or industry, by reasonable, not by brutal motives.

Though I had been commanded by necessity to adopt that mode of instruction; my confidence in the wisdom of antiquity, or the general good sense of mankind, left me no doubt, that similar methods had been used; and when called upon for authorities, I should not be at great pains in producing them. It is not in antiquity alone, the utility of such arrangements has been experienced. The Canton of Bern has an institution, called 'Etat Exterieur;' in which youth, under the age requisite for the Sovereign Council, form an exact Image of the Government. They have the Great and Little Council, Treasurers, Commissioners of the Seal, and Assemblies, in which they discuss affairs of little concern, but with great attention. They have military and other exercises;—

and the whole is approved or protected by the state.

In England---such is the attachment to monkish institutions!---a youth may successfully finish a course of polite education; without possessing an idea of the first measures to be taken in society, to secure his person, property, or the legal liberty of his actions. This is the more extraordinary, as the professed objects of that education may be obtained, with more ease, in the manner here alluded to, than by the discipline of our schools.

The conclusion did not arise in my mind from the meer operations of reason. Previous to an engagement in a regular institution, my attention had been occasionally directed to the studies of youth, in the prevailing methods: and it was not difficult to perceive the general reluctance with which they were impelled to a proficiency, until any occasions arose, which converted their passions into motives. At the period to which our attention is directed, pupils, whose tardiness no punishments can remove, will be active or industrious in preparing for appearances

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in dramatic characters. This suggested the idea of doing business by creating interests. And, to confirm the opinion of its superior utility, I have had young persons under fifteen, and men of forty, perusing the same books, but with different effects. Cicero's Offices, Seneca's Morals, and even Blackstone's Commentaries, have been rendered extremely interesting, when they have solved difficulties in the actual situation of youth; while I have lost my time, or have uselessly fatigued myself, in privately inducing a British Senator to dose an hour in a morning over Montesquieu's Spirit of Laws. The difference must be ascribed wholly to the methods. The senator had the inducements of the child, with some important additions; but in one case, they were motives; in the other, matters of contemplation, of fluctuating or feeble influence.---I observed attentively the subjects which engaged the passions of the pupils; or gave them a tendency to dispute and contend. It is the custom to decide on these puerilities with rapidity. I avoided the temptation; con-

sidering them as the instruments, with which I might direct their minds.

It is difficult to give youth---I have sometimes found it impracticable to give men---clear or accurate ideas of property. To say of moveables, That is yours; or, This is mine; is easily done: but it does not furnish a correct idea of claim and right. The little differences of my family arose from the claims or rights of the members. Instead of subjecting those differences to my will; or endeavoring to suppress them: I multiplied their occasions, by partitioning our premises among the pupils. In a state of society, considerably advanced, we are often obliged to assume prepossessions or habits as truths, until opportunities are afforded of tracing their origin. When additional property was assigned to the pupils, the means by which I acquired the power of the assignment, were not matters of enquiry. Their minds were so much occupied by new rights, that they thought not of mine. But I soon found I had committed an error. By dividing the premises into parts, or assigning

signing to each pupil his property, I resolved all their conceptions of it into my will: and some indefinite idea of me, pervaded all the policy of the community. I was obliged to trace back my steps; which in education, as in a military retreat, is the most difficult of all operations. I endeavored to reduce all things to that state, in which nature leaves its materials for the industry of man. Every thing on which they were to employ their labor or ingenuity, was left in common: and talents converting them into use, were the only grounds of claim, right, or property. This seems to be a first principle in political science: for no other can precede it, without instantly occasioning an idea of arbitrary distinction, inequality, or injury. Resting on such principles, the science is not less susceptible of argumentative demonstration or permanent arrangement, than that of logic, or of mathematics. It is the interference of imagination, that clouds the region of politics; and gives a charm or influence to ideas of property, which are false, delusive, pregnant with confusion, injustice, or injury. When men, by incidents

dents or revolutions, quitted this original principle; and apportioned the earth, by arbitrary lines or denominations, extending beyond their actual possessions or wants; they gave birth to ideas of landed property, the sources of all the errors, all the injuries, of political science, or political events. The moment a right is admitted, not created by the employment of talents, the entrance is opened to arbitrary inequality; the subjection of one man to the will of another; to all the evils of injustice and oppression.

But I mean only to glance on the subject; as it may be fully discussed at other times. I tried the wrong, because it was the common, way into the science of jurisprudence, or policy; and I owe the idea of principles, to experiments on a society of youth. I had early and convincing proofs of their truth. Being in habits of intimacy with reformers; the difficulties of projected plans were often subjects of earnest discussion. As the pupils seldom mingled with strangers, in argumentative conversations at table; they were impatient to resume them on their departure: and they never hesitated, or had difficulties,

culties, in adapting the ideas formed in their communities, to those of greater extent, or in ascertaining and defining the rights of their members. I mean by rights, those terms of possession, which are calculated to produce in a state the greatest quantity of private enjoyment and public security.

In the present confused, obscure state of political science, the operation and truth of this principle are occasionally discerned. States acquire private comforts and public advantages, as the industrious incroach on the ideal possessors of land. Civil and political rights, therefore, originate in industry; not in the arbitrary partition of land: the laborers, mechanics and artisans, not the landlords, are the first objects of attention in a wise or happy state.

The members of my little community, in the wasteful use of their territory, were some time before they assumed the appearances or claims of citizens. The first proof we had of the certainty or excellence of our principles, was the ease with which the inequality of their portions of property and talents admitted of a social or conventional equality

of

of persons, in the possession of those portions, and in the administration of civil justice. Disproportionate possessions, in that mode of arrangement, never implied the subjection of one citizen to another: all were equally free--if they exerted sufficient industry to supply their wants.--For instance--certain articles at the table, were the produce of their skill or industry; and their enjoyments were in proportion to their talents. But the superiority consisted meerly in the enjoyments; never in subjecting those of inferior talents to their will or caprice. Sentiments of civil justice were thus furnished, which rendered the regulation or adjustment of their little differences, the easiest business imaginable. The difficulties of jurisprudence, are not in the science; but in the false or defective maxims, adopted instead of it.

An advantage obviously arising from this method of arranging, even a literary family, is the probability of gradually leading the mind, from one great principle of political truth to the other.-- It was not difficult in these circumstances, to render intelligible

to

to youth, the liquidation of industry or services: all exchanges were first in kind, to avoid premature discussions on money. The children were so intensely employed, that they soon produced a surplus; and a surplus on the employment of cultivators or husbandmen, is the spring of alienation and social industry. They were assisted to understand the effects of circulating that surplus in giving birth to the useful arts; and that it must be important to public prosperity, no man should eat of it for nothing.

The utility of the employment was so obvious, and satisfactory, that our small premises were soon cultivated---The pupils seemed to have conceived and established a principle of political œconomy prevailing only in China; and there not fully understood, 'that a wise government will not 'think of foreign commerce while an acre 'of its territories is uncultivated.'

They were at leisure to reflect not only on their claims respecting the little property they had acquired, but on those by which I had rendered the premises common; for their acquisition of rights.

I was

I was overwhelmed with questions concerning the tenures on which I held my house, garden, and grounds. They were astonished, I was not their proprietor; and seemed to apprehend they had been building castles in the air, by establishing claims, on a tenure unintelligible, or precarious.--I told them the principles on which houses, lands, even the liberty of our persons and actions, were held; might be found in a book, written with perspicuity; and not unintelligible to them. The harsh visage of Mr Justice Blackstone, seems present to my fancy, clouded with indignant frowns. 'What, offer to the attention of boys, my celebrated 'and immortal works---they astonished a 'learned university and an enlightened nation on their appearance; and they comprize the political and legal science of a 'great majority of English Senators?'

I have no apology for such presumption but the facts---that I have rendered the Commentaries perfectly intelligible in very early youth, by the method here described; that I have generally failed in mature age, when those who applied, could not or would not

submit

submit to some species of discipline analogous to that under consideration; and that a knowledge of the laws, more extensive, more accurate than is usually obtained by the prevailing habit of reading,--is necessary to an English gentleman

Personal freedom and property are defended by securities so numerous, so ill-assorted; that on slight difficulties, our claims may be transferred to an order of men, whose practice is at this time a dishonor to the country, and constitute its greatest evil. It is difficult to state a case, which, in the hands of an English lawyer, will not prove a greater injury than the offence to be redressed. This evil owes its origin and establishment to the custom of attempting, generally in vain, to educate gentlemen in the Roman and Greek classics; in the visions of logarithms; or the puerilities of chemistry and natural history; while the principles of civil union and the laws are neglected, by which their lives, possessions and happiness, may be endangered or secured.---The general ignorance of legislators, on the subjects of their engagements, has given importance to a profession which, if not restrained, will render

render law a nuisance, and liberty a curse. Habits of public business are generally unfavorable to principles of honor or virtue. They are peculiarly unfavorable in the profession of the law. It is by that profession, our councils are regulated, and our laws formed: formed with intentional ambiguities to favor their lucrative execution. While the senate is conducted by professional characters,* some of which, in all views of them, are dishonorable to our nature; every province, every parish, every family is infested by an attorney, to whom its concerns are assigned, and by whom they are ever embarrassed.

This, I conceive, to be a sufficient reason for initiating youth early in the knowledge of the English laws; and to interest them so effectually, as to put them out of the reach of lawyers, either as senators or citizens. The method here recommended, is so favorable to polite learning, that the circumstance alone should obtain it a preference. The perusal of Blackstone, on the rights of princes, magistrates, corporations,

* In 1787.

and

and people; the discussion of tenures, titles, or forfeitures, opened our minds; instigated our curiosity to more extensive information: and the desire of information facilitated the acquisition of a polite language, if by that acquisition the desire could be gratified. It was the general custom, not to peruse a treatise: but to consult; thoroughly to comprehend or discuss such parts of it, as were important in our enquiry.

To prove the collateral advantages of this method, I will produce an example in my own family. It had not been difficult to pass from English to Latin writers, on many subjects of our enquiries: but I was for some time embarrassed by a youth destined for India; to whose immediate views the acquisition of the Persian language was absolutely necessary. An ingenious man attended, to furnish him the instructions, at that time, to be obtained in the country. The method was that of using a grammar and dictionary; to which the occupations of our family were peculiarly unfavorable. The youth had a good capacity, and excellent dispositions: but he made no progress in

the language. We had been so much interested in Blackstone's definitions of inheritances, remainders, possessions, and tenancies, from a desire to adjust our claims to the property we had recently acquired; that it was not difficult to lead our enquiries into the Gentoo laws, which had just been published in a pleasing translation of the Ordinations of the Pundits.

Youth are more effectually captivated by strong contrasts, than by near similitudes: and the simplicity of the Gentoo principles of jurisprudence, immediately engaged them.

The rights of affinity are those which first affect children; and the power of the father over the property of the family, is not the most pleasing of his prerogatives. In the Gentoo laws, the rights of kindred are so sacred, that a man is only tenant for life in his possessions; children are not to be disinherited; and no partial allotments are ever admitted. The division of property to the sons in equal parts, pleased them: but they were surprized, women should be postponed, to sons in an indefinite lineal succession, even to adopted sons; and

that

that their claims were confined to female property acquired by marriage-settlements, or presents descendible to female issue. These articles of information furnished subjects of discussion or comparison, as favorable to learning as to real knowledge. For the institutions of the Pundits were so interesting and amusing, that if we could have obtained a Persian copy, we should all have learnt the Persian language.

LECTURE XI.

PUNISHMENTS.

Interdum punirunt immania scelera, cum alioquin scelerum irritamenta præbeant suis.

ERASM. Apothegm.

IN the regulation of a family, particularly where views of instruction or improvement are entertained; the use and abuse of sanctions; rewards or punishments; are subjects of considerable difficulty.----The principles and habits of societies, always pervade the families of which they are composed: punishments having been the motives of action in modern states, they were adopted

adopted as instruments of education. Where government is instituted or directed for the public interest, punishments are seldom used, and they are always equitable. Where institutions are regulated by the will, or for the interest of those who direct them; punishments are arbitrary, numerous, and cruel. When Anacharsis said to Solon, 'Laws 'are cobwebs, holding only the weak:' he answered, 'Men punctually adhere to those 'covenants, not to be violated, by either 'party, with convenience.'—This is the principle of rational or useful government, whether an empire, a school, or a family: on this principle, we attempted the regulation of our interests; and under its direction, were led into enquiries of indefinite extent, and of considerable learning.

Our proceedings, on equitable conventions, were generally approved: but the sanctions used, particularly punishments, often plunged us into difficulties: a formal motion was made, that the inconvenience of complicated discussions, or erroneous decisions, might be avoided, by vesting the discretion and responsibility respecting pu-

nishments wholly in me. It was desireable to prevent a resolution on the subject; as it would have weakened the principal instrument of instruction: but I was relieved from distress, by the introduction of a child, younger than the rest of the family; whose story, though told within the line of truth, will appear to many of you incredible.

The father, in a state little short of distraction, produced him before my family, as the lacerated soldier before the Roman people; and overwhelmed the youth with a species of dismay, by declaring the infernal operations to have been committed by the mother. There were punctures of large needles and hat-pins in its flesh; and deep, ulcerating lacerations, from a whip of knotted cords. It occurred to me, the mother must have been insane; and I considered the proceeding of the father, as a rescue from the sudden effects of frantic passion. But I was mistaken---the mother had a family of several children. I will not point out the circumstances too minutely; though some of them are known to a part of this assembly. The father having a large

fortune,

fortune, and being engaged in public business, the care of the family devolved on the mother; who was peculiarly anxious, her children should be accomplished. They were all educated at home; and were regularly engaged in business eleven hours out of twelve. Masters, suited to their studies, were provided at great expence; the lady devoted her attention to the management of every department: and the father was happy in being relieved from care, respecting the education of the children. The mother was born and educated in the West Indies; where all injunctions are enforced by punishment; but the principle is open or avowed; she had a desire to conceal it; particularly from the father. The regularity of her conduct; assidnity and attention in every thing respecting the family, gave her the character of a good mother. The servants were influenced by some degree of respect for these qualities, which prevented abhorrence and indignation from bursting out in informations or complaints to their master. Systematic perseverance obtained an ascendance so decided and absolute, that

the servants became the reluctant instruments of barbarous penalties on helpless, unoffending innocence; and the children submitted to a law, which refined on common cruelty, 'that they might moan or cry 'during the infliction of severities, if the 'father were not at home: expressions and 'marks of suffering, furnishing her gratifi-'cation—but no severities or pains were to 'extort a sound, if the father should be in 'the house.' This regulation produced the discovery. The servants assisted the children to understand its meaning: and the frequent appearances of violence on their persons, which all her address could not conceal, were fully explained to the father.

I will not torment your sensibility, by enumerating cruel inventions to keep the children intensely to business. She attended the lessons of masters, furnished with some instrument of pain, to be thrust into the children's bodies: and when the general terror of her operations had not its usual effect; or the children failed in their lessons; they were fixed each on one foot in a dark closet, with the other limbs tied to the furniture, after

 being

being thoroughly punctured or flogged. At the age of five, six, or seven, they were confined to their occupations till twelve at night, with no refreshment, no attendant but the mother; never satiated by acts of barbarity. So strong was the disposition, that it mingled with enjoyments of an opposite nature. She would join the children in the dances they were ordered to practise; but not without the corded whip, the favorite instrument of discipline: and while she hummed tunes, dealt her strokes on the necks or arms of her offspring. When the amusement was over, she ordered Arquebusade water, or any thing she thought would conceal the operations. It was usual, in apparent gaiety, for no visible reason, to desire a child to withdraw, and strip itself for punishment: and the servants often found the poor creature naked, waiting the executioner. They had the humanity to attempt diverting her attention: but never succeeded. In half an hour perhaps, she suddenly cried out, 'O! I had almost forgotten the child I ordered out to be flogged!' So numerous, so excessive were her severities,

ties, that the servants have wished, she would puncture some fatal part, and give them an opportunity of bringing her to justice. Yet so artful was her conduct; so well protected by a constant assiduity respecting the children; by an earnest desire to see them improved and accomplished—that she concealed many years these cruelties from her husband, and generally bore the character of a good mother.

When the discovery was made, a scene of confusion and distress took place; such as I have never known in any family. She had acted on a kind of principle; and had long gratified perverse but habitual dispositions. She shrunk from the first effects of the father's indignation; but the good order and regularity of the family; the proficiency of the children, and the unwearied attention which had superintended them; were circumstances of too much plausibility to be neglected by a woman of spirit.

It will neither improve or entertain you, to follow the parties through the various struggles which terminated in a compromise. The children were not wholly rescued from her

her power, until they were sent to public schools; but she was restrained in her favorite discipline. Some of the young people of this family appear sensible, and accomplished; and it is remarkable that the mother is proud or fond of them; as it would be, if they did not discover involuntary marks of dread or dislike of her.

The impetuosity of the father communicated the transactions of his family to mine. I did not fail to take advantage of them when our deliberations were resumed, on the subject of punishment. If mothers were not to be intrusted with discretionary power to enforce obligations by punishment, why entrust them with governors, tutors, magistrates, or princes?

That formed a question; and furnished, what I wanted, a motive of enquiry.

It is said of Dr. Tillotson, he was never satisfied with his discourses, unless they were comprehended or approved by an old woman who lived in his house. In morals I have generally found principles doubtful or ineffectual, which could not be rendered intelligible or practicable to young people.

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The only possible use of sanctions whether rewards or punishments, is to enforce a law.—That law must be fixed, or no sanction can appertain to it. In proportion to the wisdom or goodness of the law, sanctions lessen in number, magnitude and severity. No better test of good government can be imagined, than the condition of its penal laws.

It was too early to direct the attention of the pupils to the constitution or political arrangement of states; their occupations and customs at home rendered enquiries interesting on the various modes of administering justice, of which we could conveniently obtain information.

The Gentoo laws lay before us, for the purposes mentioned in the last Lecture; and we proposed to direct our enquiries into the appointment of the judges and the administration of justice.

Lord Bacon had anticipated a truth which we were to discover; that states had been too busy with laws, and too remiss in education. He meant, they had contrived methods to punish, not to prevent crimes. In

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the Ordinations of the Pundits there are but few hints of prevention; and those relate principally to gallantry; where the national character probably, leads to extreme jealousy. They check and regulate the first steps to offences in love; or by preventing the commencement of vice, generally render unnecessary the rigors of the law.

It was in the enquiry to which I refer, I first suggested doubts concerning history; in which I never had strong faith: and endeavored to assist the pupils in distinguishing fables and facts. How should I otherwise have made them acquainted with the ranks or casts by which the Gentoos are known, and which greatly influence their maxims of justice?

When I introduced them to the god Bramah, their astonishment and disposition to ridicule, rendered business some time impracticable. I thought it necessary, they should be informed, the Gentoos believed themselves entitled to privileges, or subject to disadvantages subversive of the general rules of justice, because the first class, Bramin, had proceeded from the head of Bramah;

mah; the second, Chehteree, from the arms; the third, Bice, from the thighs; the fourth, Sooder, from the feet.—But I immediately discerned my error. Those fables involved us in questions, on the origin of mankind, and the constitutional arrangements of government, for which youth of fourteen or fifteen were not prepared. After cursorily surveying the labyrinths into which these enquiries might have conducted us; we determined to avoid them at the time and to be content with the actual forms or modes of administering justice.

The ordeal, by fire or water, retains its authority in the East. The opinions or customs relating to it, were probably conveyed into Egypt; and thence into the mythology or jurisprudence of Europe.

In the appointment of eastern judges or magistrates, there are no traces of popular election. The prince appoints one person his gomastah, or agent, in each town: a person of superior authority, with a jurisdiction over two towns. The authority gradually ascends, in a representative of the prince, over three, five, ten, twenty, a hundred,

dred, or a thousand. But we have no intimations, that appeals from private citizens may be carried through all the gradations. They seem designed for the convenience of the prince, not the relief of the subject; who is allowed an appeal, as we shall observe; but not in gradation, from an inferior to a superior magistrate, ultimately terminating in the prince. We compared the arrangement, as far only as it respected the interests of justice, with the courts of tithings, hundreds, counties, and the appeal, in the last resort, to a national assembly, appointed by the English Alfred. It was not difficult to discern the first symptoms of national passion, in our unanimous decision on the superior wisdom and justice of the English legislator.

It is remarkable, that institutions having different objects, should agree in the only means of securing them. Whether the duty of the magistrate be directed to the interest of the prince, or the happiness of the subject; the only effectual pledge of his attention, is responsibility. Accordingly, the Gentoo and the Saxon institutions direct, that

that the magistrates of every degree, punish theft, robbery, and murder; that they restore effects lost in their districts; or make adequate and specified compensations.

But these observations were barely made, as we intended to resume the subject, when considering the nature or principles of political constitutions.

There is a lenient simplicity in the processes* respecting debts, which perhaps could not be admitted where the complicated transactions of trade or commerce have taken place. The creditor is to apply, in prescribed forms, to the debtor and to his relations, before his person or his goods can be seized. The iniquity and oppression of proceedings for debts, arise principally from the different treatment of different casts or ranks in the community.

The government of the Gentoos being a theocracy, and their laws recorded in sacred scriptures; the magistrate is always assisted in judgment, by a Bramin, or priest of religion; and by, what is denominated, in the

* C. i. S. 5.

Ordinations,

Ordinations, a person of experience. The plaintiff and defendant state their cases in person: and occasions are specified, when attornies may be appointed. If those occasions were such, as not to give rise to the distinct profession of attornies, it would be a proof of wisdom, which has seldom been exhibited in any political constitution.

Great attention is given to the nature of evidence; and the rules of discrimination extend even to physiognomy. Whether the following maxims may be founded on the best principles of jurisprudence, I submit to your consideration; as we could not obtain an unanimous opinion.* 'When several 'persons are witnesses to one point, the 'arbitrators, at the time of examining the 'witnesses, shall question them in a body, 'and shall not examine them separately. 'These witnesses shall also deliver their evi-'dence at once jointly.'—'When several 'persons are witnesses separately, and to 'different points, the arbitrators, at the 'time of examining the evidences, shall not

* S. 10.

question any one of these witnesses in the presence of the rest."

Texts of ancient writings, particularly in translation, are always difficult of interpretation. Hence the uncertainty or inefficacy of written precepts; and hence the various offices of interpreters, so delusive or so apt to be abused!—We could not determine, whether the first species of evidence were to be examined in crouds, or separately, but in the presence of each other. Nor could we see the danger of examining different persons, in the presence of each other, if they spoke to different points. In our own proceedings, we often perceive the inconvenience of suffering the second evidence to learn his tale from the first, by being in court during the examination; and it seems unaccountable the judges do not generally exert a power they possess, of examining separately witnesses to the same transaction.

In the business of arbitrators,* there seems to be something analogous to that of a jury: for they are different from the magistrates, the bramins, and even those called men of experience. The privilege of an ap-

*S. 10.

peal

peal is thus stated.—'When the arbitrators 'have made a thorough examination, if he 'who is proved culpable, goes afterwards 'with his complaint to the magistrate; the 'magistrate shall not give him another arbi-'tration: but should that man assert, "the ar-"bitrators have committed injustice, if they "have not, I will forfeit a fine of double "the sum now in dispute." 'Upon a pro-'position of this nature, the magistrate may 'appoint other arbitrators. If the arbitra-'tors have committed injustice, and the 'plaintiff can bring the matter to a proof, 'then the magistrate shall appoint other 'arbitrators, and shall hold the former ar-'bitrators amenable.'

The passage contains a hint which might be an improvement on an English jury. If some relaxation were allowed on its unanimity; or some responsibility provided as a check on wanton, careless, or partial verdicts; the jurisprudence of England would receive no injury.

In these early efforts of legislation, a scale of punishment is held out, to check the progressive steps of villany. Preparations

or menaces of violence, are noticed.* 'If a 'man be deficient in a hand or foot, &c. 'and a person reproach him with the defect, 'or sneeringly refer to it, he is to be fined.' 'If a man speaks reproachfully of any 'country, the magistrate shall fine him.'

Life is forfeited for life; limb for limb: and those acts of contempt or insult, which, with us, occasion duels, are subject to the jurisdiction of the magistrate. 'If a phy-'sician, unskilled in the art of physic, causes 'any one to take a medicine; or, if skilled 'in his profession, he give not to the sick 'man the remedy proper for his disorder, 'the magistrate shall fine him.'

But the circumstances most important in the execution of justice, are those which may be denominated preventive: and to such circumstances the Ordinations of the Pundits are not inattentive.† 'If a man 'should find upon any person, irons for 'breaking into houses‡---if a man sees ano-ther in possession of things not suitable to

* C. xv. S. 2. † Sec. IV. C. 17.

‡ Lord Sydney has lately copied this part of the law he English code.

'him---

'him---or a man who has no income, and 'whose expences are large'---he is to apprehend such men as thieves.

'If a man furnish provisions, or a place 'of abode, for a thief, knowing him to be 'such, he shall be considered and punished 'as an associate.

The responsibility of offices, descends to the lowest. They who are appointed by the magistrate, in the manner of our constables or watchmen, for the protection of any city or town, shall be held bound to protect such city or town: if any thing be stolen, or those persons cannot produce the robber, they shall make good the article.

It has been hinted, that gallantry is punishable, as tending to crimes alarming to the peace of society: and to exclude, as much as possible, the sudden or violent operations of private resentment, personal civilities are adjusted; as the methods of giving way in the streets or paths; and negligence in observing them, fined or punished.

The character of this extraordinary nation, is advantageously distinguished by an

attention to the treatment of animals. If a man exact labor from a bullock that is hungry, or thirsty, or fatigued, and oblige him to work out of season, the magistrate shall fine him.

The system of Gentoo jurisprudence, though defective or ridiculous in some of its parts, and allowing too much power or discretion to the judges, bears venerable marks of high antiquity: it is actuated by a spirit so simple, candid, and benevolent, that you will not wonder the youth were charmed with it; or that it furnished a proper introduction to the knowledge of law, so necessary to the education of every citizen in a free country.

LECTURE XLI.

JURISPRUDENCE.

IN the method of involving the pursuits of learning, with the regulation or government of the family, you may perceive I had it in my power to employ the pupils perpetually on languages: and I had some difficulty in dissuading them from commencing a career, in the ancient dialects of Hindostan, and proceeding through Hebrew and Greek, into the languages of Europe.---As I could not misemploy my own time, in acquiring languages, I thought it unbecoming the trust I had undertaken, to mislead the talents of my pupils.

I am well acquainted with the compositions and characters of the literati of this age. I believe it would be difficult to find six among them, who can write English with accuracy or elegance: and this may be justly attributed to divided attention. The Greeks among the ancients, and the French among the moderns, are distinguished by excellence of style. The construction and capacity of the languages, are not in the present question. I consider only the attention to their utility, as instruments of communication. Not to attempt comparisons, which I could not accomplish, between the language of Greece, and the dialects of the moderns---I would direct your thoughts to the French, the construction and capability of which I understand, better than those of an ancient language can be understood by any modern scholar: yet I could not pledge myself to support an opinion concerning them. In the indefinite uses, to which language is to be applied, I have had difficulties in becoming a tolerable master of my own: and I have many things to learn in it.---Whether the

French or the English, be the best calculated to answer the purposes of language; after having perused all the first writers of them, I confess myself incapable of deciding. But let us admit, in compliment to English vanity, that the French wants the copiousness, vigor, or sublimity of the English language---which may possibly be like admitting that an Englishman can beat ten Frenchmen---what is the reason, in conversation and writing, the English perpetually, the French hardly ever, offend grammar, propriety, decorum, or elegance? It is that which has nearly rendered the French the universal instrument of science; that which gave the Greek its superiority: the attention of an intelligent people to their own, and their comparative inattention to every other language.

It may be said, modern languages are derivatives; or that knowledge of etymology is necessary to perspicuity and accuracy of style. From plausible arguments, to prove the modern languages derived from the Hebrew, the Phœnician, or the Celtic---it may be inferred with probability, that all the

the languages used in Europe for two thousand years, are streams from one fountain. They are certainly so interwoven, that, if the meaning of words depend on etymology, it would be necessary, every writer and every orator, be acquainted with those languages. This would be an effectual bar to the progress of knowledge. Though things may be taught by words; it is advantageous to knowledge, and expedient to the utmost improvement of it, that one word only should be employed on one thing. A person who directs his attention to the accuracy or elegance of two languages, loses half his time, if the object be the knowledge of things by words. A few languages would, in this manner, take up a whole life.

The meaning of words, depends little on etymology, and principally on custom. The conversation of scientific men, or the perusal of good writers, will ascertain the custom, beyond all acquaintance with the languages from which particular words may be derived. Provincial authors of extensive learning, mistake the import of words, and render their writings ambiguous or unintelligible;

ligible; while the petty illiterate retainers of periodical lampoons, convey the ideas that occur, in perspicuous, sometimes in elegant language.

Inattention to this subject, has an evident effect on the English universities. Their establishments are opulent and splendid beyond all institutions in the world: but they do not contribute, in any tolerable proportion, to the improvement of useful knowledge, or to the scientific character of the country. This is not owing to the want of abilities in the professors or students, but to the general direction of those abilities to the acquisition of accuracy and elegance in several languages. In one of them, the custom was violated, and the violation produced a Newton. Even that event, so glorious to England and to humanity, has effected little alteration in the other university: she has therefore never rivalled the fame of her sister. The invariable custom of employing youth on the learned languages, has held the literature of the principal university of England in an unprogressive state; in a species of torpid stagnation,

tion, unfavorable to the great interests of the kingdom.

On these accounts, in our little institution, we avoided Hebrew, as we had avoided Persian, in pursuing the subject of jurisprudence, from the ordinations of the Pundits to the laws of Moses.

You will observe, that we did not agitate the question, on the mission of Bramah or of Moses. We had instituted a court of justice; were embarrassed in the administration of it; and sought direction or assistance where we were invited by the slightest hopes. Our business in the Old Testament, was to study the mode of appointing judges, and executing the laws adopted by the celebrated leader of the Israelites. That, however, was the occasion, on which Hebrew would have been acquired, if any of the pupils had been destined for the church. A minister of religion is inexcuseable, if unacquainted with the original language, in which the oracles of it have been pronounced.

In the appointment of judges, it is a matter of doubt, whether Moses does not deviate

deviate from the custom of the Egyptians in a manner unfavorable to the interests of the people. He not only appoints the judges; but reserves difficult or important questions to himself, by reference from them, and not by appeal from the people.

We are not informed of the method of appointing judges in Egypt: but they took an oath, they would not obey the king, if he should command them to give an unjust sentence. 'Moses "himself" chose able 'men out of Israel, and made them heads 'over the people; rulers of thousands; rulers 'of hundreds; rulers of fifties; and rulers of 'tens. And they judged the people at all 'seasons: the hard cases they brought unto 'Moses, but every small matter they judged 'themselves.'*

Some penal laws of the Israelites have an arbitrary character, as well as the appointment of the judges. Judah violates the bed of his son: when a general accusation is brought against his daughter-in-law; from jealousy incident to such situations, he says, '†bring her forth, and let her be burnt.'

* Exod. xviii. † Gen. xxxviii.

The

The general mode of deciding on cases, would not suit a government unsupported by perpetual miracles. 'They put the 'offender in ward that the mind of the Lord 'might be known.' 'The Lord spake unto Moses,' and Moses decreed the punishment. If measures could be thus conducted by Almighty power, the administration of the political, would be as perfect as that of the natural world. But if for this theocracy be substituted the artifice of an ambitious hierarchy, sanctifying frauds by the name of the deity; it is likely to be the worst, the most oppressive species of despotism. This seems to have been experienced. In the later books of the law, the case of the man gathering wood on the sabbath, is thus related, 'They put him in ward, because it 'was not declared what should be done to 'him.' The laws were made on the sacred mount; in the tabernacle, or the temple: but when made, they lost their arbitrary character.

'The injunctions immediately following the ten commandments, bear great similitude to

* Lev. xxiv.

all

all antient regulations. Those against idolatry and witchcraft, are blended with proper prohibitions of murder, theft, and other trespasses. Like the Ordinations of the Pundits, they descend into regulations of manners; and on many occasions breathe a spirit of benevolence. '*Thou shalt rise up before 'the hoary head, and honor the face of the 'old man.'—'And if a stranger sojourn 'with thee, in your land, ye shall not vex 'him. The stranger that dwelleth with 'you, shall be as one born among you: and 'thou shalt love him as thyself; for ye 'were strangers in the land of Egypt.'—'†Ye shall have one manner of law, as well 'as for the stranger, as for one of your own 'country.'

The final injunction of the Jewish legislator, should be imitated, by all governments. '‡And Moses wrote the law, and delivered 'it unto the priests the sons of Levi, who 'bare the ark of the covenant of the Lord, 'and unto all the elders of Israel. And 'Moses commanded them, saying, at the 'end of seven years, in the solemnity of the

*Lev. xix. †Lev. xxiv. ‡Deut. xxxi.

year

'year of release, in the feast of the tabernacles,
'when all Israel is come to appear before
'the Lord thy God in the place which he
'shall chuse, thou shalt read the law before
'all Israel, in their hearing. Gather the
'people together; men and women and
'children and the stranger within thy
'gates, that they may hear and that
'they may learn; and fear the Lord your
'God, and observe to do all the words of
'the law.'

In the consideration of that law, we commenced exercises; accounts of which transpired, and had some important, but ridiculous consequences.--We invented, and tried causes on Mosaic precepts; and were proceeding through the laws of Greece and Rome, into modern codes, when our numbers obliged us to seek a large room. Not having the spirit of an adventurer, I disclosed the intention to the proprietor of a public building; who saw the advantages of annexing to it, a public amusement. I did not perceive his design until I had proceeded too far to recede. I had only to endeavor to turn into useful or reputable channels, the prevailing impetuosity for public debates.

Though

Though the laws of Moses did not long detain us; it must be supposed, we had better knowledge of them in this, than we could have obtained in any other method.

The Greek customs of jurisprudence, afforded an additional object, in the acquisition of the Greek language.—Here some liberties were taken, which may not be justifiable. Several parts of the Institutions of Cyrus were introduced, without an explanation of Xenophon's purpose. If any excuse can be made, for deviating from unlimited candor in all intercourse with youth; we might allege, the Institutions of Cyrus are among the most excellent productions of human genius, and the language a model of simplicity, perspicuity and elegance. Xenophon observes* 'The Persian laws have 'for their first object, a provision for the 'common good. Most other governments 'permit the people to educate their children 'as they please; or to act themselves as 'they please: and then enjoin them, not to 'steal; not to plunder; not to enter a house 'by violence; not to strike unjustly; not

* Book I.

'to commit adultery; not to disobey the 'magistrates; and other things of a similar 'nature: and they denounce punishments 'on those who transgress these injunctions. 'But the Persian laws, taking things higher, 'provide that the citizens shall not be ca-'pable of committing vile and base actions!'

This is repeated, in a beautiful manner, by the father of Cyrus, at the conclusion of the book:* 'With respect to courage and 'spirit in the soldiers, said Cyrus, I think 'nothing more effectually excites them, than 'great hopes of advantage.—But child, said 'Cambyses, this is an expedient, as if any 'one, in hunting, should always encourage 'the dogs in the same manner, as when the 'beast is in view. If the hopes of men 'should be often disappointed, especially 'when raised to high expectations, they 'would not be influenced or prevailed upon 'by real and valuable prospects. You 'must be cautious, child, in saying any 'thing you do not well know, or in raising 'expectations which will not be fulfilled: 'doubtful things, intimated by others, may 'have all the effect you would wish: the

* Book I.

credit

'credit and honor of your own encourage-
'ment, you must preserve with care, for
'the most important occasions.' 'Indeed,
'father, said Cyrus, I perfectly acquiesce in
'your opinion; and the method you de-
'scribe is the most adviseable. But, in the
'art of rendering soldiers obedient, I take
'myself not to be unskilful. For, when
'a boy, you put me under discipline, and
'obliged me to obedience. When you con-
'signed me to my masters, they continued
'the obligation. When ranked among the
'youth, it was not relaxed by my governor.
'There are many institutions, the principal
'tendency of which is to teach us how to
'govern, and how to obey. And, on con-
'sidering them, I am inclined to think, the
'most proper means to enforce obedience,
'is to praise or recompence the good, and
'to disgrace or punish the disobedient.'---
'Indeed, said the father,---to a forced
'obedience, this is the way; but to a vo-
'luntary or meritorious conduct, there are
'other and readier means. Men obey, with
'pleasure, those they esteem better informed
'than themselves, in things regarding their

'own interest or advantage. You may 'know this to be true, in many cases; par-'ticularly in those of sickness, where people 'are ready and zealous in sending for such 'physicians as may prescribe what is pro-'per for them. At sea, the persons on 'board are ever disposed to obey their 'pilots; and travellers are averse to suffer 'those to depart, who know the roads better 'than themselves.---But when men imagine 'they shall be injured by their obedience, 'they will neither yield to punishment, nor 'be induced by reward; for no man willing-'ly takes a reward to his own prejudice.'

In descending from these walks of fancy, guided by experience and truth, into the actual practice of Grecian jurisprudence, a career of learning or information lay before us, the most useful and captivating. But I can only trace the principal points of view. An event, to which I have already alluded, broke up my little institution; and I have not resumed the literary pursuits, on which we then entered.

It may be useful, to know even our intentions. I would wish you to consider

sider them only as intentions, justified by the experience of a few months. I have no interest in misleading you; for I have no views which can be accomplished by it. I would as willingly recount my failure, as my success: and I am extremely desirous you should ever distinguish what I relate as actual experiments or facts, from any opinions to which those facts may have given rise.

I not only supposed the following method, the most eligible, to render useful the little knowledge we had acquired in geography, history, and philology; but I believed myself prepared to conduct the young gentlemen in it.

It was our intention to adhere to the plan agreed upon, by avoiding all discussions on the nature or constitution of the Grecian governments,---subjects to be resumed in future;---to consider meerly the laws relating to private right and wrong; and the manner of administering justice. The information to be obtained on these circumstances, we should have found often defective; but the pursuit would have been en-

tertaining; and furnished better reasons for improvement in the Greek language, than are offered by the general sanctions of modern education.----Young people are extremely captivated, in tracing to Egypt or Crete, the numerous obligations of a people so celebrated as the Greeks. The magistrate in Crete visited the towns, and carried with him tablets or plates of brass, on which the laws were engraved. Hence the general and admirable custom of Greece, to hold the laws always in public view. The custom had various and beneficial effects: it obliged the legislature to observe the utmost brevity or perspicuity in their formation; and it prevented ignorance or inadvertence from participating the guilt of villany. The manner of administering justice, would have been matter of curiosity and imitation, on our plan: we should have tried causes in Greek courts, on Greek principles, and with some use of the Greek language. The unblemished character and high dignity of the court of Areopagus, are subjects of just and passionate admiration. Princes and Gods sub-

submitted to its decision; it controuled the magistrates, and even the legislature: yet Demosthenes declares, no complaint had ever been made, of an unjust sentence by that tribunal.

During our legal exercises, I intended to raise or cultivate a principle of honor, by reducing into tales or dialogues, the questions of philosophers, particularly those of the Stoics, on the subjects of our attention.---Plato is tolerably free from refinement on justice; defining it to be, 'the 'obligation of every one to do what he has 'to do.'---But the Stoics were warmly engaged on the following difficulties.

1. If a ship must be cleared---whether we are to throw over a horse of great, or a slave of little value?

2. If a fool, in shipwreck, lay hold of a plank, may a wise man wrest it from him? ---This continues a question in the Stoic philosophy; though Zeno has declared, he may not.

3. If two persons fall on the same board, or plank, should one give way to the other? ---Zeno has decided the question; but his

authority has not prevailed. He said Yes, to the most valuable.

4. If a father rob temples; undermine the treasury; or commit public offences of an atrocious kind: should the son reveal them?---This question has occasioned warm disputes; though Zeno declared, he should not; because it is the interest of a state, above all things, that children be pious to their parents.

Passing bad money as good; or injured goods as uninjured---and other transactions of a similar nature, are excellent subjects for the faculties of youth, in this period of education: they render familiar the Greek spirit or taste, in a manner that may be of great importance to their future characters.

Whether the tribes or nations inhabiting Italy, were Greek colonies; and their languages dialects from a common origin; were not questions for that period. We were content with marking the æra when the Romans sought their laws in the wisdom of Greece, and compiled those of the twelve tables. Revolutions in the Roman government,

vernment, produced revolutions in jurisprudence; and Roman tribunals, domestic, civil, and political, have interested the curiosity of the world. The history of Rome furnishes abundant documents on the subject, previous to the collation of the laws of the empire, by the command of Justinian. We should not have proposed the general system of the civil law, as the immediate subject of study; but selected such parts for imitation, as would have enabled us to compare the several modes of administering justice, in the most celebrated periods of history.

It would have been difficult to pass over the brilliant evening of the Republic, without following Cicero, Cato, and Cæsar, into the courts of law, or into the forum. No mode of study could have been more favorable to the acquisition of the Latin language; as it is difficult for a young man to be introduced to Cicero, without being dazzled with his character, and engaged to peruse his works.—On that species of honor, which a gentleman should be careful to blend with the study of law, no writer is more copious than

than Cicero; who states cases of the same nature with those I pointed out in the Stoic philosophy: and questions, such as the following, would intensely engage such youth as I have described. 'Should a worthy man, 'who is ready to perish with cold, have 'it in his power to strip Phalaris, a 'cruel tyrant, of his robe--is he not justi-'fiable in doing it?' Cicero's solution is sophistical, and affords a fine subject for a judicious tutor.

On that species of honor, which is not tempted by secrecy or concealment, his sentiments are most happily imagined as lessons for youth. 'If we have made any proficiency 'in philosophy, we lay it down as a 'maxim, we are to do nothing avaricious 'or profligate, though it could be concealed 'from gods and men. Upon this principle, 'Plato introduces the fable of Gyges, who, 'descending into an opening made in the 'earth by excessive rains, observed a brazen 'horse, having a door in its side, which he 'opened; and saw within the dead body of 'a man unusually large, with a gold ring 'on one of his fingers. He took the ring,

'put

'put it on his own; and returned to assist 'at an assembly of the king's shepherds, of 'whom he was one. When he turned the 'stone of the ring, towards the cavity of the 'hand, he became invisible, and retained 'the privilege of seeing every thing: when 'he turned it outward, he became visible 'again. Taking advantage of this property 'of the ring, he first violated the king's bed; 'and by the assistance of the queen, mur-'dered his sovereign and benefactor.'--- The reflection of Cicero on the subject, renders the tale a beautiful lesson of literature. 'If a man, perfectly wise, were 'in possession of this ring, he would be no 'more at liberty to commit a bad action, 'than if he had it not. For he seeks what 'is honest; not what is concealed.'

The tales of Damon and Phithias, of Themistocles and Aristides; of the Roman landlord; the Rhodian corn-merchant; of Caius Cassius and the banker at Syracuse: ---these are lessons, as if formed expressly for the purposes under our present consideration.

I should

I should have pursued the subject, through the Gothic institutions, to the present time, if the usual length of the Lecture had admitted it: but the nature of my engagement would often oblige me to violate, if I were solicitous to observe, any of the unities of composition.

LECTURE XLII.

PRUDENCE.

Vere magnum habere fragilitatem hominis, securitatem Dei.

SENEC.

'WHATEVER* is made by men, it 'is in the power of men to destroy. 'There are no characters indelible, but those 'imprinted by nature; and nature never 'made men royal, noble, or rich.'

This is Rousseau's reason, that every man should have a trade; and not depend on fortune for subsistence. In chusing it for Emile, however, he regards cleanliness, shelter from the inclemencies of the air, and

* Emile, vol. ii. p. 106.

other

other petty circumstances, which should not have weighed in the consideration of the subject. These circumstances prevented his fixing on gardening, agriculture, or the arts of self-defence; the first employments of man, and the most likely to secure his subsistence or independence in any revolutions. But sudden or desolating revolutions are so uncommon, that it would not be practicable to induce youth of fortune and numerous connections, to regulate their passions or views with any reference to them. ---We must class this arrangement, respecting Emile, among the incidents of romance, calculated to charm the fancy; and, though not describing a necessary process in education, implying a lesson of moderation, of great importance in every situation. Every rank in society, is not only liable to the general revolutions of the state, but to incidents peculiar to itself. The prudence which Rousseau advises, should be directed principally to those incidents. In respect to national desolations, the general maxim of opulent and educated men should be, 'that no citizen should survive his country.' The landed

landed interest of the state, has ever been formed for its defence: no man should draw a revenue from the soil, without rendering an equivalent to those who cultivate it, by his wisdom, valor, or ingenuity.---In the celebrated institutions of antiquity, attention was paid to this political maxim. In the arrangements of the feudal system, the proprietors of land formed the political council, the magistracy, and the army. In modern governments, the military services are commuted: the landed interest having the power of legislation, involves every species of property in nearly an equal participation of military expence. Landed gentlemen continue to execute some of the burthensome offices; but not without complaint; not without compensation, in the power or influence they afford.---The most remarkable effect of this revolution in political arrangements, is the conversion of a tenure into an absolute or unconditional property; a gentleman possessing an estate, never considering it as involving an obligation. This is an error in fact, as it is in policy: and it is the business of education to impress

sentiments

sentiments that may obviate its effects. Greater service would be rendered in this manner, than by making a gentleman a carpenter, or even a husbandman. If the constitution of his country should not admit of the cultivation of military talents on patriotic principles, he should prepare himself for her councils or magistracies. Instead of pursuing the studies of monks, he should be devoted to those of magistrates or legislators: that while he contribute with his purse to the defence of his country, he may be ready with his council or knowledge to secure its peace and prosperity; and thus fulfil the tenure, on which alone it can be justice or good policy that he should hold his lands.---But revolutions may arise, to reduce him from opulence to poverty: it is for these possibilities, Rousseau provides, in teaching his pupil a trade. There is an imprudence in rendering the circle of possibilities too extensive or too confined: a gentleman educated a carpenter, might, by the very circumstance, become a carpenter.

You may have observed, we were not inattentive to mechanic arts; though we never served

served an apprenticeship. In the period under consideration, it is judicious in Rousseau, to assist his pupil in appreciating industry, talents, rank, and riches; or to prepare him for those incidents of fortune, which would otherwise sacrifice his independence and happiness. We endeavored to produce similar effects, on a smaller scale; confining our attention to the probable events of our situations.

When the God of Love has once touched the human frame with his sceptre; the imagination is apt to be delusive, generally in giving favorable prospects. It is proper to be guarded against the delusion, by previous instruction: and the instruction may be rendered useful to the general purpose of a learned education.---We examined the usual incidents or misfortunes of our respective ranks; and supposed cases to be our own, in order to acquire the power of forming resolutions. A nobleman, a commoner, and an opulent merchant, were disappointed in their views, or reduced by misfortunes; and the conditions of a poor lord, of a dependant member of parliament,

and of a reduced or helpless merchant, were not only imagined, but described in instances within our knowledge. The effect of such examination was an accurate estimate of situations or prospects; and our abilities were exercised in inventing expedients to avoid the desolation, despondence, or moral degradation, which attends the misfortunes of those in easy or elevated stations.

We had fixed it, as a maxim, 'every idle man is a knave.' His subsistence is dishonestly obtained; because he withholds an equivalent. Having extended the maxim to the proprietors of land, we had assigned to talents and industry their just importance. That gave us great advantages, in the prosecution of our design: for the minds of opulent families are generally and incurably poisoned by false ideas of the merit of rank, or the inseparable privileges of property.

A prejudice, so powerful, so baneful in its influence, having given way; we were prepared for good impressions from the lessons of ancient wisdom: or to read, with certain advantage, beautiful and useful passages in the Greek and Latin classics.

Having

Having directed our attention, not only to opulent families, but to talents in obscurity, or merit in distress; we had sometimes difficulties in preventing our younger friends from adopting the maxim, that goodness is the sister of poverty. On such occasions we had to illustrate the observation of Lord Bacon, 'prosperity doth best discover vice: adversity doth best discover virtue.' As illustrations of that nature, obliged all the pupils to commit thoughts to writing, I took the occasion to give them exercises in composition.

Aristotle, referring to the present subject, observes 'things are ill by excess; good 'through mediocrity. He is not temperate, 'who desires nothing, or desires all things, 'but he who desires honest things with 'reason, in time, and measure,' he therefore places the virtues in mediocrity.

'Temperance lies between boldness and fear:
'Liberality, between prodigality and penury:
'Meekness, between wrath and stupidity:
'Magnanimity, between arrogance and pusillanimity:
'Magnificence, between ostentation and sordidness:

'Indignation, between envy and malevolence:
'Modesty, between impudence and bashfulness:
'Urbanity, between scurrility and rudeness:
'Friendship, between doting and enmity:
'Truth, between detraction and panegyric:
'Justice, between excess and defect.'

These positions furnished exercises, by which their knowledge of the passions was ascertained; and they were favorable to that moderation we were desirous of cultivating. We made the following observations the subjects of various compositions.

'To one, who said, the greatest good is 'to enjoy every thing I desire---Aristotle 'answered, it is much greater to desire things 'that are fitting.'

'Seeing a boy drink water from the cavity of his hand, Diogenes threw away his 'cup, saying, this boy exceeds me in frugality.'

'Diogenes, to one extolling the happiness 'of Calisthenes in living with Alexander, 'said, he dines and sups, when Alexander 'pleases.'

---Pythagoras says, 'We ought to remove from the body, sickness; from the

'soul,

'soul, ignorance; from the table luxury;
'from a city, sedition; from a family, dis-
'cord; and, from all things, excess.'

It was observed by Democritus, 'poverty
'and riches are the names of want and a-
'bundance. He who wants, is not rich;
'he who wants not, cannot be called poor.'

Plato defines temperance, to be 'a certain
'order and restraint of our pleasures or
'passions.'

During such employments, you will suppose young men would imitate with enthusiasm the sentiments and language of Xenophon, in such passages as the following. Pheraulas, one of the officers of Cyrus, invited a Sacian who had presented him, with a horse, to an entertainment. The Sacian, observing his furniture, domestics, and generosity,—'Tell me Pheraulas' (said he) "were you rich when at home?"—"How do "you mean?" said Pheraulas. "I was one of "those who lived by their labor: for my "father maintaining himself but indifferently by his own, brought me up in the "discipline of the boys. Not being able to "support me, in idleness, when a youth, he

" took me into the country, and ordered me
" to work. There I maintained him, while
" he lived, on a little but not ungrateful
" piece of land, which I cultivated with my
" own hands. The seed it received, was re-
" turned with justice, sometimes with ge-
" nerosity.---Thus I lived at home:---all
" the things you now see, are the effects of
" the bounty of Cyrus." The Sacian ex-
claimed, " How happy must you be, in
" many respects; especially that, having
" been poor, you are become opulent! For
" I should imagine, that you grew rich, with
" the more pleasure, for having had occa-
" sions to wish for wealth." Pheraulas said,
" Do you think, Sacian, the more I possess,
" the more I enjoy? Do you not know, I
" neither eat, drink, or sleep, with more
" pleasure now, than in poverty? But, by
" this abundance, I have the more to guard,
" the more to distribute, and my anxiety
" or trouble is every way increased. I
" have numerous domestics, who demand
" their food, their drink, their cloathing of
" me; and some of them want physicians.
" One brings me sheep torn to pieces by
" wolves;

" wolves; another, oxen which have been " killed, by falling from a precipice; ano- " ther tells me of a distemper destroying " my cattle. By possessing abundance, I " have more afflictions than I had in po- " verty."---" By Jupiter, said the Sacian, " when all is well, and you can cast your " eyes around your numerous possessions, " you are certainly better pleased than I " am."---- It is not so pleasant, Sacian, said Pheraulas, " to possess riches, as it is " afflicting to lose them; and you will find " what I say to be true. For those who " possess riches, are never deprived of rest, " by the enjoyment they afford; but those " who lose them, feel pungent distress, " which is an enemy to repose."----By Ju- piter, said the Sacian, " few of those who " obtain riches, are disposed to sleep, on " receiving their good fortune; so lively is " the pleasure afforded them."---" You say " truly, said Pheraulas; if possessing were " as delightful as obtaining, the rich would " greatly exceed the poor in happiness. But " he who possesseth abundance, must expend " abundantly, on the gods, on his friends,

" and on strangers. The man who is greatly
" delighted by the acquisition of riches, will
" be greatly afflicted at the necessity of ex-
" pending them."---" I am not one of those,
" said the Sacian; I consider it as great
" happiness, to possess abundance, and to
" expend abundantly.---In the name of
" all the gods, you may, this instant, be
" happy, and make me so at the same time.
" Take possession of all these things; use
" them as you please; maintain me as a
" stranger, or more sparingly than a stran-
" ger; for it will suffice me to share in what
" you have."---" You jest, said the Sacian."
" Pheraulas affirmed on oath that he spoke
" truth. And I will obtain something fur-
" ther for you, Sacian, from Cyrus; you
" shall not be obliged to attend at his doors,
" nor to engage in military services; but
" you shall remain at home, abounding in
" riches. Those duties I will perform, both
" for you and myself. And if I obtain any
" things valuable, by my attendance on Cy-
" rus, or by military expeditions; I will
" bring them to you, that you may com-
" mand more. I request you only to free

" me

" me from care: if I can, by your means,
" obtain leisure, from my possessions, I
" think you will be very useful to Cyrus
" and to me."

'Having discoursed in this manner, they 'settled their plan, and put it in execution. 'The one thought himself happy, in having 'the command of riches; the other in having a steward who afforded him leisure to 'do what was agreeable to him. Pheraulas 'was of a disposition extremely kind or 'friendly to his acquaintance; and no care 'or culture appeared to him so profitable 'or so pleasing, as that bestowed on men. 'Of all creatures, he thought man the best 'and most grateful. He observed, when 'men were commended, they were zealous 'in their returns of praise; used their endeavors to do kindness to those who had 'been kind to them; were affectionate to 'those who had been affectionate to them; 'that of all creatures, they were the most 'disposed to make their parents returns of 'service and respect, whether living or dead; 'and that all other animals were more ungrateful, more ill-natured than men. Phe-

'raulas,

'raulas, therefore, was delighted; by being 'freed from the care of his possessions, he 'should be at leisure to attend to his friends: 'the Sacian was delighted; for possessing 'abundance, he was to expend abundantly. 'The Sacian loved Pheraulas, because he 'was always adding to his riches: Pheraulas 'loved the Sacian, because he was willing 'to take all; and though daily charged 'with the care of additional possessions, it 'appeared not that his trouble was in-'creased.---Thus did these men live.'

The works of Seneca, in an inferior degree of excellence to those of Xenophon, abound with lessons on the present subject: and you must observe, while the attention of the pupils is thus fixed, there can be no difficulty in improving their knowledge or taste in the Greek and Latin languages.

The utility and importance of these lessons, in the period under consideration, are not easily estimated: they check that impetuosity incident to youth, to obey the suggestions of the first passion, and to launch into life, without rudder or compass: they moderate an attachment to rank, honors,

or

or riches, which generally corrupts the mind; and they induce them to estimate their own qualities or talents.

The mode described, of giving lessons, seems to be likely, at all times, to ensure success. If the passages referred to, or read, had been meerly perused, or committed to memory, they would have had little influence: being analogous to cases we had found or imagined in our own families or connections, not a syllable or thought was lost.

The effects were different, on the different pupils. One of them was heir to the estate and title of an English nobleman, but recently obtained. Another was of an ancient family in Ireland, but reduced in its circumstances. Another, the son of a merchant, without the advantage of ancient or modern title; but with the reputation of great opulence. I mention these young men, because the process had indelible effects on them, and produced a friendship which, if their lives had been continued, would probably have been exemplary and lasting. It was in the family instructions of the new peer, to improve his fortune by a title. To that

expedient,

expedient, the Irishman was reluctant, from an idea of contamination, though his circumstances were not opulent. It was the principal object of the merchant, that the son might intimately associate with a young man of rank; an alliance with whose family, the father would have purchased at a high price.

How these prepossessions gave way; and what were the consequences of different sentiments on the characters or fortunes of the young men, I should have been happy to have described; but one only is alive: and he, by unexpected incidents, has been confined to a military line; where hard duty has destroyed his health; and where all the use he can have for his virtues, is to support him under the gradual advances of an incurable disorder.

LECTURE

LECTURE XLIII.

FRIENDSHIP.

PART I.

ὁ φίλος ἄλλος αυτος. ARIST. Nichom. Eth.

IN the fifteenth year, Rousseau dates the birth of the affections: for it is the period of sentiment. Previous to this period, the pupil stands alone; and considers himself unconnected. In the fifteenth year, he emerges into social life; and the event is denominated, his second birth. He had previously been born to exist; at the period under consideration, he is born to live.--- But when Rousseau has announced the event, and

and the impetuous cause of its production, he quits them precipitately; reviews former instructions; and amuses the reader with disquisitions on the origin of the passions.

In actual business, we derived little assistance, either from his opinions on the second birth of the pupil; the miraculous conception of affections; or the origin of evil. We had found the children involved, from their birth, in those sentiments of duty, gratitude, preference, or attachment, which their necessities, dependances, or connections produced. Our pupils never had an existence meerly physical: their attention, though principally directed, could not be confined by 'their relation to things:' for their relation to persons, and ideas of moral existence, had been nearly co-eval with those of hunger.

Love is the mighty author of this second birth; but like an unnatural parent, leaves its offspring to make connections at random. According to Rousseau, all the soft affections spring up, the moment we are disposed to love. *'A heart overflowing with a new

* Vol. ii. p. 170.

'senti-

'sentiment, loves to diffuse itself; and the 'want of a mistress, produces the want of 'a friend.'

The great force of this passage arises from the artifice of the language: for love, though it may have various effects on friendship; seldom, perhaps never produces it. The foundations of friendship are generally earlier than the sentiment of love: and friendship seems to be designed to regulate that seductive or dangerous passion.

To explain his meaning, Rousseau adds, 'Having experienced, how delightful it is 'to be beloved, we wish to be beloved by 'all the world.'---It is the peculiar property of love; it is that by which it has a tendency to evil, to concentrate sensibility; to direct to one point all the soft and vague affections of the heart; to engross all wishes and all desires. Friendship alone, previously and judiciously founded, can check or moderate the insinuating but decisive measures of this commanding principle.---Rousseau seems to recollect himself, on a subject which he does not fully comprehend: 'the first 'sentiment, of which a youth carefully educated

'cated is susceptible, is not love, but friend-
'ship.' Though this contradict a former opinion, it cannot substitute truth for error: friendship may be previous to love; but it is not the first sentiment of which youth are susceptible.

Rousseau, therefore, has directed our attention, in the period under consideration, at random; or on the authority of some hints in Plutarch, which he did not understand, and which I have not been able to trace. I should not have regarded his opinion of friendship, if difficulties respecting a more powerful sentiment, had not drawn my attention to the subject.

Parents generally act in the business of love, as in every other essential part of education. They disregard the measures of prevention or prudence; and when the evil appears, either attempt to crush it by indignant authority, or lament their misfortune in despondence.

In the variety of young persons, to which my attention has been directed, it is to be supposed I have found the operations of love, either for or against my general undertaking.

dertaking.---Meaning, on this, as on every occasion, to adhere to facts, I shall not take up the passion in the stile of romance: but describe its first approaches, as they are actually made; and as they render necessary an attention to the subject of friendship.

Whether the restraint or the species of shame, attending the first sentiment of love, be a pre-possession, or a virtuous principle, I may have other occasions to consider. It arises so naturally out of the condition of modern manners; it is so essential to that decorum without which they would be intolerable, that I shall call it modesty, and consider it, as a talisman or charm to guard the soft and interesting virtues of the heart.

In the period under consideration, this charm should be the object of particular attention. For a young person, whose imagination is depraved, previous to the full impression of the sentiment of love, is rendered incapable of receiving it, in a manner that may contribute either to the elevation of his mind, or the melioration and goodness of his heart. To first impressions, parents are inattentive: and first impressions alone are important to the character or disposition of the pupil.

Rousseau has touched some parts of the subject, with the hand of a real master; and his mode of introducing Emile to Sophia, has nothing equal to it in ancient or modern learning, either as a true description of rising passion, or an important lesson of education. But where glowing scenes are to be contemplated, Rousseau never scruples to overleap the barrier; and he describes with so much beauty that the reader is fascinated to the theme, regarding all modes of approaching it as matters of little consequence. If we seek the indulgence of passion or fancy in reading, Rousseau may be our conductor: if to produce the situations he describes, our principal attention must be directed to minute and previous circumstances which had not been subjects of his consideration.

In the first approaches of love, every parent, every tutor, and every governess, deserving the apellation, is involved in difficulties. Industry is suspended; and the character appears to be changed. I must own, difficulties of the kind, found me unprepared, though not unexperienced in the effects of the passion.---All things, on such occasions,

occasions, are covered with a veil more or less pervious, according to the character of the parties, or the nature of their connections. In these connections, the evil, and the remedy are to be found: and here, parents or tutors discover, that moral attentions are of much greater importance than those called scientific or learned. On these occasions, how few parents are in the confidence of their children! how few tutors or governesses in that of their pupils!---Here we see the first important operation of friendship; and the necessity of regulating or influencing that sentiment, previous to the approach of love.

I will not suppose your attention so languid to the general method recommended in these lectures, that I should repeat examples proving the necessity of rendering moral subjects the instruments of scientific or learned pursuits.

To prepare young people for the approach of love, every practicable expedient should be used to influence or direct their friendship. I have found the measure facilitated by the admirable lessons of Aristotle, Plato, Xeno-

phon, Plutarch, Cicero, and Seneca. There are beautiful passages in the works of Marcus Antoninus; but they are too much the effusions of fancy to be of benefit to youth. The taste and the heart are, at this time, to be carefully regulated; and no productions are so useful as those of early antiquity. Pupils whose friendships are well directed, will in general, escape the degrading, the fatal errors of love: those whose connections are unfortunate, will be ruined by that seducing and powerful passion.

It was not without difficulty I obtained the permission of any parents, to influence the disposition to friendship. What, they have said, when private and public principles are ineffectual; when selfishness, avarice, and profligacy, are the general motives of action:—what can you expect from lessons or measures, on the subject of friendship?

The prosperity of England, is not owing to its virtues; as we presume by the use it has made of that prosperity, or by the appearance it assumes on any approaches of adversity. An influx of wealth, not the result of virtuous industry, generates a spirit

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of enterprize, adventure,---and the most determined, incurable selfishness; sometimes covered by the veil of prodigality. Adventurers of all kinds are avaricious; though the habit of hazarding every thing, may give them the air of liberal negligence, when required by vanity or pleasure. This selfishness worms into the roots of our virtues; while the wealth it procures may give the state a splendid or prosperous appearance.

These are strong objections: but they would carry us too far; and prove that all the virtues should be discarded in a plan of education.

By approaching the subject, in a different direction, we may have more favorable views, and be reconciled to it.---The affection subsisting in the several branches of a family, having had its utility, the first efforts of its members is to get over the domestic inclosure, or to embark in the transactions of the world: these efforts lead to connections and friendships. A family, however happy, is considered by its younger members, as the nursery or school, to prepare for the business of life. The deliberation and wisdom,

or the precipitance and folly, with which they form connections, in the first moments of emancipation, depend principally on the state and government of their families.---Youth who are unhappy at home, seek happiness abroad, precipitately or at random; they rush into life, and form connections of love or friendship, as desperate adventurers embark in a lottery, without considering the disproportionate chances of their happiness or misery.---At this period, the hand of a wise parent should be, like the Almighty influence presiding in nature, steady, and directed to important ends, but gentle and imperceptible. For the moment the affections are restrained, they are irritated, inflamed, or vitiated; and the youth may be injured for ever, by being forced into rebellion or hypocrisy.

Writers on friendship, have thought the following questions so important, that I must not overlook them.---Whether the disposition to it, be owing to our wants; to the similitude of our characters; or to the immediate influence of nature? Cicero is supposed to have fully answered the first question.

tion. 'Should any one think, this proceeds 'from the insufficiency of our nature to ob- 'tain the advantages she wants, they assign 'to friendship a mean and groveling origin; 'for they suppose it to take its rise from 'weakness. If that were the case, the more 'sensible men were of poverty and in- 'ability, the more inclined they would be to 'cultivate friendship; which is not the truth. 'The man who is supported within him- 'self; who is so effectually fortified by wis- 'dom and virtue, that he wants nothing; 'and who thinks all he can desire, placed 'within himself: such a man is the most 'apt to form, and to cultivate friendship.'*

This is declamation, not argument. The wants of men are increased, in proportion to the extent or elevation of their minds. Their wisdom may accommodate them to situations, or restrain their desires within the bounds of convenience. It is by wisdom their independence is secured; not by internal sufficiency. In youth, the most excellent minds have generally the most nu-

* Cic. De Am. p. 95.

merous and lively passions; and the first misfortunes of such persons, are from precipitate or imprudent connections. Friendship may therefore originate in wants, without derogating from our characters.

Cicero does not adopt the definition, 'that 'friendship is self-love reflected;' yet he says, 'A man who looks on the face of a 'real friend, sees, as it were, a transcript of 'himself.'* This may be true; and friendship not owe its origin to self-love; unless self-love include all the social affections. In the essential virtues of the heart; truth, sincerity, and goodness; real friends must be alike: in many dispositions of importance to happiness, they may be different or opposite. Grave and phlegmatic persons are usually attached to the volatile and sprightly; the phlegmatic are relieved or amused, and the volatile confer pleasure. For reasons equally good, the prudent and the imprudent are often united. It cannot be doubted, that perfect characters would esteem each other; but common friendships

* P. 291.

originate

originate in imperfect properties; and every degree of that union, in which I have been interested, has been owing to a passion very different from that I should have conceived for myself reflected in another; as Narcissus is feigned to have been enamored of his image in a fountain.

Cicero says, 'Nature herself planted in us 'the force of affection and the endearments 'of friendship, after receiving proofs of vir- 'tue and merit in the object beloved.'*

I mention the sentiments of Cicero; because they seem to be established doctrines, or to have the weight of authorities on the subject. The Dialogue on Friendship is considered as excellent and masterly: succeeding authors have been content to copy its sentiments, and imitate its diction. I could not chuse a better author to form the style, improve the taste, or cultivate the sentiments of the pupils. Admirable as I thought the dialogue, in several detached parts, I neglected no opportunity of observing, the definitions were vague, and the

* P. 296.

composition

composition desultory or incoherent.---That a principle is founded in nature, is no definition. Every thing is founded in nature. It is an inaccuracy, 'that nature has planted 'the endearments of friendship, after re-'ceiving proofs of virtue and worth in the 'object beloved.' We must suppose the proofs of merit, not the hand of nature, to produce the endearments.---These objections were hinted, and they are repeated, with great respect to the talents of Cicero. But my objects would not, cannot admit of implicit acquiescence in opinions.

It was my intention, that the circumstance of being educated together; the opportunity of knowing and esteeming each other in my family, should form attachments; or lead the pupils to that friendship, by the assistance of which, I might have some influence on the approaching passion of love. This required prudence. The family being small; every thing, even the passions of the children, became domestic: the same reasons counteracted me, which prevent friendship between brother and brother, or sister and sister. My institution had the air of a family; and

and families are nurseries for the world. It is necessary, in friendship as in love, there should be a power of chusing among various objects of affection or esteem: for this reason, we seldom fix on those in our own families.

The impulse to friendship is also similar to that of love. All pleasures, except low and simple sensations, are insipid when enjoyed alone. The disposition to participate every satisfaction, improves into a social habit; and we enter the world, under the necessity of participating our happiness with others. In all my observation, this is the origin of friendship: and the happiness or misery of social connections, has been owing to judgment or folly in the choice of friends. The moral necessity of friendship, acting on the lively and impetuous spirits of youth, has occasioned precipitance in their choice; and given the union of friends, like that of lovers, the appearance of predestination or fatality. Nothing, however, is more clearly to be traced to an origin. The condition of infants, is that of experiment; in which our knowledge of dispositions and effects, is well

or

or ill formed. Dispositions or qualities in those around us, are expressed by signs: these leave traces on the countenance; and give an air or manner, with which ideas of happiness or misery are associated. In forming connections, we are influenced, sometimes by words; sometimes by actions; always by the expressions of the countenance, or the indications of internal disposition. Hence our love of beauty: not from the contemplation of proportioned features; but from the expression of dispositions which charm or make us happy. The more exquisite the sensibility, the more lively the imagination; the more impetuous or precipitate are the resolutions of attachment, in friendship or love.—But if we have not been instructed early in the nature or expression of amiable dispositions; if we should not instantly discriminate real and fallacious countenances, in amorous or friendly connections; we must be precipitated at random into happiness or misery. This impetuosity is less observable in cold, than in warm constitutions; where mental processes may be performed with greater velocity. An

ardent

ardent imagination, only glances on objects; instantaneously marks those expressions of qualities essential to its happiness; and the man is suddenly attached. If the object be withdrawn; if withheld by force or authority; and the imagination have no opportunities of being undeceived, by circumstances derogating from its excellence; it may become the idol of the affection, and be regretted even to death. We may therefore easily imagine a passion conceived at sight; which is never to be eradicated. The imagination, either truly or falsely, traces, at once, the dispositions necessary to happiness; being denied the possession of the object, and retaining the first impression, it may shade with sorrow the remaining years of life.---Though the impression, in friendship, be not so deep; it may be instantaneous: and, for similar reasons, we are liable to injudicious or imprudent connections in friendship as in love.

The art of discerning human qualities, in their actions and expressions; or the power of distinguishing true from false, in beautiful and agreeable persons, is of importance

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on this occasion; and we were not inattentive to it. But having uses for its utmost assistance in the precautions against love, we shall defer all hints on physiognomy to our entrance on that subject.

LECTURE

LECTURE XLIV.

FRIENDSHIP.

PART II.

Quod si in scæna, id est, in concione, in qua rebus fictis & adumbratis loci plurimum est tamen verum valet; (si modo id patefactum & illustratum est)---quid in amicitia fieri oportet, quæ tota veritate perpenditur? in qua, nisi (ut discitur) apertum pectus videas, tuumque ostendeas, nihil fidum, nihil exploratum habeas: ne amare quidem aut amari; cum id quam veri fiat ignoras.

Cic. de Am. Sec. 26.

IN the direction of youth; where alone, perhaps, the principles of morality may be clearly discerned; it is not difficult to influence friendship. A common interest may be imperceptibly created, which they will

will adopt; or occasions of difference may be offered, which they will seldom reject. Their attention being directed to the subject, they will soon discern the importance of the art, by which we discover qualities and dispositions. If it be expedient to know the nature of the materials with which we construct a building or machine; how much more, to understand those which constitute friendship, from which we derive important portions of our happiness!

Maxims committed meerly to memory, have delusive or injurious effects. Maxims generalizing or concentrating our ideas, on subjects of immediate and interesting pursuit, are of great utility. If any address be requisite in the period under consideration, it should be directed to the elevation of the mind; to purify and ennoble the rising passions. The approaching sentiment of love, gradually acquires irresistible power; if the heart be not prepared for its influence, it may sacrifice to immediate gratification, principles the most essential to the happiness of society. This preparation can be only in the obligations and exercises of friend-

friendship. It is the duty of a parent or tutor, to give the subject of friendship its utmost effect; and embrace every occasion to elevate the sentiments of youth on all the incidents that may form it. Their attention may be usefully directed to the language and opinions of antiquity; where we find it to have been a maxim, that friendship can subsist only among the wise or good; and the definition of wisdom or goodness, is a condition of perfect virtue. But all characters being imperfect, all virtues have their alloy, and all connections admit allowances. It is in social union, as in the constitution of human bodies. If the great, essential parts be sound, the body will sustain the variations or indispositions of those that are inferior; but if they should be defective or injured, the body must soon perish. It is so in friendship; if the essential principles of the heart be sound, lighter dispositions will not affect it: if those be defective, friendship cannot subsist.

In sensibility, perhaps in wisdom, we are greatly at the disposal of nature: and though we may not be blamed when defective, our

friends are delighted in proportion as we possess them. In ignorant, insensible minds, hardly any thing like friendship can take place. The velocity with which affectionate sentiments pass from heart to heart, is the voluptuousness of this connection: where interruptions are occasioned in the instantaneous circulation of thoughts or enjoyments, friendship halts, as a man struck by a palsy: and when the wise has dragged the ignorant, for some time, with pain or regret, the moral disorder puts an end to friendship. Every man, who has felt the force of the affection under consideration, in the warm and lively periods of youth, will testify, there is no pleasure on earth less alloyed, than that we experience in considering the high talents or accomplishments of a friend. Here envy moves not a finger; and friendship exalts self-love into a species of disinterestedness, which the first passions of the heart alone can sustain: for it is very possible, we may take pleasure, more pure or unalloyed, in the accomplishments of a friend, than our own.---You must perceive this to be a lesson of great importance, in a

state of preparation, for the duties of conjugal affection: the whole difficulty of which is, in a peculiar management or direction of self-love.

A principle of great importance in every connection, is at the same time cultivated—I mean, the genuine disposition to beneficence. Friendship has been supposed to have its origin in beneficence. But persons of such opinions, have misapprehended the common associations which assume the name; and which we see bursting in millions, like bubbles, at the breath of misfortune or caprice. They who trace friendship into benefits, are like women, who form the passion of love on presents. It is giving an interested traffic, the appellation of virtue. Friends may be in the situations of benefactors, and benefited; but the situations must be the consequences, not the occasions of affection. Friendship annihilates the words benefit and obligation. It gives me the best of all rights to enjoy, what is necessary, out of the property, and to avail myself of the knowledge or wisdom of my friend. Beneficence is essential to friendship, as it is an

important virtue of the human character; as it is requisite to entitle a person to our esteem; and as the actions arising from it, cherish the affectionate regard we have conceived for an excellent disposition, from which we may have derived no immediate advantage.

But truth, integrity, and confidence, are the peculiar properties of all affectionate connections: they are to be cherished into vigor, in friendship; or they will not survive the removal into the stormy dominions of love. Our sensibility, wisdom, or beneficence, will admit of defects that are venial; but offences against truth, integrity, or confidence, are mortal wounds either to friendship or love. When we have committed acts of folly, or neglected offices of kindness, we may see our defects, and may rectify them: but if, to a friend, we speak untruth; deceive him; act dishonestly; or even conceal circumstances of importance to him--what can we say, on a discovery? No doubt, that we are sorry--we are discovered. It will be said, every man, on such discovery, sees his error, and should be allowed mercy,

in order to correct it. I am for all possible indulgence in favor of human weakness; particularly in the direction of youth. But when sentiments of friendship have taken effect; and its offices have been entered upon; any species of infidelity does not come under the denomination of folly, or venial error. Untruth and deceit require the total suppression of all sentiments of friendship or love. They are injuries to the person beloved, so direct and deliberate, that they are supposed inconsistent with genuine affection. This persuasion is so firm and settled in the human mind, that we have no instances of offences against friendship really or thoroughly forgiven. The offended friend either discards the person deceiving him, which is the general and proper conduct; or if particular reasons have determined him, he has insensibly dismissed the offender from that sacred region of the heart, he had so unworthily occupied; and placed him in another, under the eye of suspicion or indifference.

Every property of the human mind, being alloyed, it is adviseable youth should be ac-

customed to relent; and to suppose no stains indelible, but those which may befall their own minds. I would cherish the passion of friendship, rather above than beneath the just temperature of nature; as many of its duties are lessons for those of a more powerful passion. I would form the habit of severity at home; but that of candor and indulgence towards the object beloved. If the accurate or precise line of nature is to be pressed upon, it is in this direction: for self-love is seldom defective in vigor; the affections which should balance it, are often languid and feeble.

'Thou treacherous man——
'Thou hast beguiled my hopes; nought but mine eye
'Could have persuaded me.——Now, I dare not say
'I have one friend alive—thou would'st disprove me.
'Who should be trusted, when one's own right hand
'Is perjured to the bosom;——Protheus,
'I'm sorry, I must never trust thee more,
'But count the world a stranger for thy sake.
'The private wound is deepest. Oh time accurst!
'Mongst all foes, that a friend should be the worst.

Allowing for the pleonasms of poetry, this is the general language of disappointed friend-

friendship; and Protheus feels the usual compunction of such guilt.

PROTHEUS.

'My shame and guilt confound me—
'Forgive me Valentine——If hearty sorrow
'Be a sufficient ransom for the offence,
'I tender it here---I do as truly suffer,
'As e'er I did commit:——

VALENTINE.

'Then I am paid:——
'And once again I do receive thee, honest:
'Who, by repentance, is not satisfied,
'Is, nor of heaven or earth.

TWO GENT. OF VERONA.

The event, proved the offence had been committed from a depravity, rendering the offender unworthy and incapable of friendship.

To those observers, who penetrate beyond the common appearances of human nature, there can be hardly any objects more interesting than persons rendered wretched by perfidy in affectionate connections. Some minds are so tenacious of impressions, that falshood or injury will not efface them. We must have observed remarkable instances of this nature in the female world. Sacred

faith, honor and veracity, have been violated; injuries have been accumulated, and rendered peculiarly poignant by capricious insult: yet the impressions of first attachments have not been erazed; blended, fluctuating sensations, consisting of regret, hope and desire, have held the mind in perpetual agitation; and wasted its strength in every fibre of its texture. Where despair and misery have not induced licentiousness or profligacy, no objects interest so deeply the compassion of generous minds, as women in these circumstances: they move like wounded deer; affliction draining the sources of their lives.

In friendship, the evil is less obvious: but sufficiently distressing to endear the principles of honor to the minds of youth; or effectually to guard them against the common brutalities of manly passions. I would pledge my life; that a sensible and well disposed youth, led judiciously into early friendship, would, in love, be as incapable of those offences which sink men into brutes, or force women into licentiousness; as of any marked or infamous villany. I have seen young persons languish in silent and

modest regret, at disappointments in friendly connections, they could not resolve to break or had not the good fortune to exchange. These incidents are not usually observed, or seldom improved; yet they are more important, than those we think deserving attention; such as disappointments in designs to obtain honors or to procure fortunes.

In the direction of youth, it must therefore appear of peculiar utility, to consider truth, honor, integrity and sincerity, as essential ingredients in friendship; or that to be deficient in them is to want capacity for the connection. 'Who would I deceive?—— 'One whom I hold as dear as my life. This 'would be like the folly of deceiving myself.' It cannot take place in sound, intelligent minds; for it tends to no purpose, and has no motive. There cannot be deliberate falsehood, deceit, or any offences against honor and sincerity, in connections of real friendship.—Where these offences intervene, friendship does not subsist, or is not real. The hesitation and reluctance with which the ties of the heart are broken, are natural; and often do honor to the disposition of the offended

fended party, but they are generally useless, or only lead to a repetition of disappointment.

It may be alleged, that delicacy is often the occasion of concealment; that a strong desire to preserve the good opinion of a friend, may induce us to conceal circumstances which would not benefit him, and might appear to our disadvantage.

This is one of the divisions of virtue and vice, almost imperceptible, where none but the most excellent minds can tread with security. Exceptions to the general rule of unlimited confidence, have been made, with the best intentions, to save unprofitable pain; or to prevent the discovery of errors which the delinquent was employed in correcting. If reserve be at all justifiable; if, in any imaginable case, it be consistent with that spotless honor which is the soul of friendship;—it is surrounded by too many dangers, to be frequently ventured upon, or admitted. I do not allude to the dangers of discovery; the general considerations occurring to offenders: but the great, the dreadful probability of debasing our own

hearts.

hearts. The man who conceals from his friend, under pretence of avoiding pain, or that information may be unseasonable, draws a line between two minds, which should be united; and having experienced the convenience of concealment, he insensibly extends its use: from circumstances intended amiably, he proceeds to those he may judge meerly important; and he glides over the several gradations of dissimulation or perfidy. It should therefore be a maxim, 'there are no secrets from friends.' The possibility of concealment, is not a temptation where the affection is genuine: for the advantage and pleasure of blending our information and thoughts, overbalance the occasional interruption or pain, arising from the discovery of misfortunes or faults.

It will probably occur to you, this style of friendship is neither common nor practicable in the general condition of political or civil society. The obligations or engagements of situations constructed with more artifice than wisdom, will seldom admit of the unlimited confidence, on which I have insisted. In conditions, where mechanical obli-

obligations are less numerous or contradictory, the ties of real friendship are formed with more ease. Here they are not often practicable, except in cases founded on love, or the affectionate union of men and women.

But so numerous and obvious are the advantages of the connection; so strong our disposition to its pleasures---that we attempt to form it under every disadvantage. We divide our hearts, as merchants do their warehouses, into several apartments: in one, we deposit the mysteries of a profession or trade; in another, the seeds or embryos of designs; in another, private secrets or crimes; and in another, all those circumstances we mean to have in common with our friends. These are sources of the suspicion, art, and insincerity, of which we complain. Persons under the denomination of intimate friends, even husbands and wives, live with each other, like associations of robbers; their bosoms having as many fastnesses, as their apartments or furniture. In social connections, give me the native though rude simplicity of the savage, whose heart, like his cabin, is open to inspection in its extreme

extreme corners. With such a disposition, I should live in a state of confidence and satisfaction; for the loss of which, all the advantages of refined society will not atone, if accompanied with suspicion or distrust.

Societies, like those wherein we live, which have been civilized by random incidents; which are regulated by circumstances that have no direct or necessary connection with their original principles---are not situations favorable to friendship, or to any of the affectionate virtues. We therefore seldom see instances of happy and permanent connections. Habits of selfishness or deceit, introduce a species of prostitution and profligacy into all social intercourse; and men, after repeatedly changing their friends, as they do their mistresses, and, at the termination of every engagement, experiencing the same disappointment, dissatisfaction, or disgust---question or dispute the existence of real and permanent principles, either in friendship or in love.

To prevent or mitigate evils so dangerous to the dispositions of the heart; so destructive of social and domestic happiness,---the arrange-

arrangements recommended in the direction of youth, are extremely favorable: and whatever encroachments we may expect on their dispositions, by the events or customs of actual life; at their initiation in the temple of friendship, the first oblations of their hearts must be on the altars of truth, honor, and unlimited confidence.

LECTURE

LECTURE XLV.

FRIENDSHIP.

PART III.

κοινὰ τὰ φίλων εἶναι. PYTH.

I HAVE specified qualities, important and necessary to friendship; which, after all, may be deemed a precarious connection. Complaints of uncertainty or ingratitude in it, are common: to which, it might be sufficient to offer a general answer, that they arise from injudicious or improper choice. When friendship is founded on truth, honor, and goodness, it contributes not only to present

present satisfaction, but to real and permanent happiness.

It is said, however friendship be founded, there may be causes to interrupt or destroy it.---No attachment, in the apprehension of some persons, will bear competition of interest in the pursuit of honors and riches. They do not consider the nature of friendship. It is the result of affections, which have been accustomed to sacrifice immediate gratifications, to the hope or enjoyment of high participated pleasures: it must be difficult to imagine a competition in the operation of such affections, which will not increase rather than interrupt the general happiness.

That such definitions of friendship are not extravagant, I appeal to experience in different circumstances of human society. In the present communities of Europe, the connection is barely practicable; and it does not require great penetration or abilities to discern the reasons, in commerce introducing riches, as the objects of ambition, and in the principles or usages constituting the law or morality of nations. These circum-

circumstances have formed a species of selfishness, inconsistent with noble and generous affections. They have destroyed the public virtues; and they infest the retreats of wisdom: philosophers becoming apologists for the principles, or triumphing in the sophisms that sustain its credit. Because self-love finds its gratification in public principles, they deny the separate existence of those principles; they ridicule the habit of sacrificing first sensations to reflected pleasures, and all attempts to render the force of friendship or public virtue superior to the direct operations of interest.

History affords attested instances of persons, who have sacrificed property, views of interest, prospects of honor, and even their lives, to the affections of this union. In early youth, while the heart is uninjured by the customs of vicious societies, examples of the kind, have made us glow with the desire of imitation. And though maturity or experience furnish no reasons to doubt their authenticity; different conditions of society induce us to question their expedience; or to reason on their utility.

Notwithstanding this pernicious infidelity, respecting virtues and principles, we do not commonly observe, the idea of friendship is wholly lost. In the most depraved societies, a few persons emancipate themselves from political habits, and cultivate genuine or useful virtues. We hear of them, as we read of the examples of antiquity: nay, we occasionally attempt to obtain affectionate or generous connections; and our complaints of treachery or ingratitude, prove we have strong dispositions to an intercourse which, according to the philosophy or political morality of the times, is impracticable.

What is a friend?—In the habit of sacrificing present to remote and multiplied gratifications, a friend is the person you love as you do yourself. No, says the modern philosopher; myself first, and my friend after me. This is not the language of truth or wisdom; as may be proved by a little attention to the public virtues. The modern politician says of his country, myself first, and then my country. If the custom or law of nations, however formed, constitute the rule of action, or the principle of wisdom; this

this may be virtue:---if it were virtue, it would lead to honor and happiness. Where it prevails, it leads to dishonor and ruin.

There are no cases, in which the human mind is so disposed to idolatry, as in those concentrating the emanations of its affections. When fixed on any object, they multiply its magnitude or value; and elevate it above the man himself, even on the estimate of self-love. What parent would not rather suffer, or perish, than consign his child to misery or destruction? How obvious the prompt and impetuous desires of those who are happily united in marriage, to take off each other all trouble or inconvenience! How freely they interpose at the approach of danger! And how sincerely they wish to die, rather than have the charm of their union dissolved!---These are the peculiar blessings of human existence: they are the circumstances that ensure the happiness of life.

If, in friendship, this species of disinterestedness be not so conspicuous; it must not be inferred, friendship is less the result of useful affections, than parental or conju-

gal love: but it may be less a virtue of military or commercial societies; or it may be suppressed with more ease, by that tuition in selfishness, which is the custom of modern nations.

Where the union exists, it is above danger from competitions of interest. It is impossible we should not rejoice in the success of a person whom, by an union or participation of enjoyments, we love as ourselves. It is impossible we should deem a loss, what may be of advantage to a friend. In defective or false connections, often denominated friendly, competitions of interest are fatal. As self-love wholly occupies the heart; and is not in the habit of blending its effects with social or public affections; competition must excite jealousy, hatred, and all the passions baneful to reciprocal love.---But real friendship can have nothing to apprehend from the interference or competition of interests.

When I consider popular objections, I may state them from popular authors. This is my apology for introducing Shakspere, as authority in education. I am not inspired

with the prevailing idolatry respecting Shakspere. Truly a poet, he never sought the foundation of a sentiment or opinion; and much of the brilliancy of his descriptions, is owing to the darkness or dreariness with which they are surrounded. I am content to have my understanding called in question by his votaries, who discover in his works, as the Hutchinsonians in the scriptures, the principles of all the sciences and all the arts.

'Friendship is constant in all other things,
'Save in the office and affairs of love;
'Therefore (let) all hearts, in love, use their own tongues,
'Let every eye negociate for itself,
'And trust no agent. Beauty is a witch,
'Against whose charms, faith melteth into blood.---
'This is an accident of hourly proof.'

If such opinions were warranted, the position I would establish, that friendship is a connection of permanence and utility, would not be tenable. I might oppose the prevalence of strong persuasion and practice, against all poetic declamation on the instability of friendship. Those institutions called great schools, owe their success, if numbers

indicate success, to the general experience of the permanence of early connections. If these connections, formed at random, serve the purposes of avarice or ambition; is it to be imagined, the friendships of youth, under wise direction, will be defective in any of the properties which favor the views of virtue?---This is a question of importance in every period of life: for it involves the highest happiness of man; no events affecting the heart so deeply, as those produced by friendship and love. It must be therefore interesting, at all times, to consider whether the genuine passions of the human mind, are necessarily inconsistent with each other?

The deductions of the understanding, decide in favor of harmony among the passions:---facts may be against it, as facts are commonly understood.

We have often had occasions to consider the nature of facts, and the cases wherein they prove any thing, or prove nothing. When the conclusions of reason are assisted by experiments, the result is demonstration; while facts, not traced through intermediate

gradations

gradations to general principles, may be uncertain and fallacious circumstances. Society constructed by military or mercantile artifice, may be so improved in finesse, that nothing can exist or take place, according to appearances. Their political constitutions have been hastily formed; and their improvements in sciences or arts are meerly the effects of riches. They produce deceptions or fairy appearances, which they denominate facts:—which, in sound philosophy, prove nothing. In such communities, love may be perfidious; friendship insincere; honor may be mean; honesty and piety admit of secret fraud or perjury; and truth of artful dissimulation or falsehood. These are contradictions in terms, in ideas, in things; but they are facts: and those who, at this time, endeavor to fabricate the shadowy or wavering principles of a prevailing and puerile morality, affect to reason from them. They might, as soon, form ropes of sand, or armies of ghosts and spirits.

Persons who affirm, the affections of the mind are inconsistent, because sometimes in

opposition, must be supposed to reason as inconclusively as those philosophers who, having found the condition of some societies a state of war, maintain, that the first active principles of humanity lead to contention or bloodshed.

The genuine principles of nature have ever had the same tendency; and they are affected, only to superficial observers, in the laws, customs, or vices of particular societies. If we attend to the native tendencies of the human constitution, which education cannot effectually suppress, we must perceive, all the affections have their distinct positions, uses, or effects; and though some are stronger or more important than others, they are not properly formed when appearing in competition. The art of virtue, the art of obtaining the greatest quantity of happiness, is to employ each in its proper sphere, and to render their influence conducive to a common effect.

It may be said, this is seldom the case: education and incidents place men under the dominion of particular passions; which are fostered by so many circumstances, that, like

rivers

rivers over-flowing their banks, they bear down or waste all the other principles of the mind. This is a fact, it must be allowed. But is it to be argued, because men from circumstances or connections become intemperate or commit murther, that intemperate or cruel passions are the necessary produce of nature? Is it thus in friendship, or in love? A poet, who seldom looks beyond common facts or established opinions, may affirm they militate against each other, or they are at enmity: but these appearances can take place only where the principles are spurious; none but false friendships are sacrificed to love; none but perfidious love is sacrificed to friendship.—Here I might have endless contention with a numerous, noisy and shallow tribe, consisting of versifiers, fabricators of plays, and sentimental writers. The passion of the moment, in these fine spirits or their devotees, overwhelms the soul or keeps them in delirium. It is true, all exquisite passions touch the line of delirium; but in great minds, they never pass it; all beyond it, is pain or misery. In little minds it is often passed;

passed; and while they are wasting their sensibility or time in fruitless anguish and distress, the disciple of nature is repeating or varying his enjoyments, without satiety or repentance.---In all cases it is a proof of imbecillity, to be wholly subject to one passion; and all affections are less productive of enjoyment when indulged in excess, than when cherished within their boundaries, or when contributing their proportions to the general happiness of the mind.

It may be said---If these strong affections should ever interfere;---if, to obtain the object of my love, it should be necessary to sacrifice my friend:---what must be done?--- It would be too late to ask the question. Indeed it never has been asked, with the intention of following advice. When these passions are brought in competition, the determination is made; and the strongest principle must prevail. But that sincere friendship and real love, in excellent minds, can come in competition, is as probable as that honor and temperance, or truth and generosity should be found in opposition. When the affections militate against each other,

other, we may be assured, one of them is spurious.

Indeed all passions are false, which perpetually require incense or sacrifice; and they act in subordination to vanity or cruelty. Women, who exact homage, or proofs of love or which are inconvenient and expensive, are strangers to the nature of the passion; they mistake submissions to vanity for symptoms of affection.

But, suppose a case, which may have occurred, at least in romance, that two friends should be captivated by the same object;---will the sincerity or honor of the weaker passion, resist the ardent impetuosity of the stronger, in securing its object?---It is folly to ask, whether sincerity and honor will engage in false or dishonorable actions. They do not exist in the mind of the man who betrays or deceives his friend. It is possible two friends may be candidates for the same object; and that one may obtain preference without violating a mutual attachment. But the passion of love, as well as the connection of friendship, must be genuine. In love, we have views beyond our own gratification,

cation; and it is necessary we should be assured, we are to confer happiness, as well as to receive it. To perceive and to acknowledge the superiority of a friend, or his just claim of preference, is not therefore in the spirit or style of romance; it is certainly more practicable, than to dissemble, or to act perfidiously in friendship.

The opinions, that young men cannot preserve their affectionate attachments, in competitions for beauty; or that women are incapable of mutual love, when they direct their views to the other sex---are founded on the mistaken persuasion, that mankind are incapable of truth, fidelity, and honor.

LECTURE

LECTURE XLVI.

FRIENDSHIP.

PART IV.

Veræ amicitiæ sempiternæ sunt. Cic. De Am. S. 9.

IT is said, if friendship survive the competition of interest, or the rivalship and jealousy of love, old age must be fatal to it.

'These old fellows—
'Have their ingratitude in them hereditary;
'Their blood is caked, is cold, it seldom flows;
'And nature, as it grows again tow'rd earth,
'Is fashioned for the journey, dull and heavy.'
Tim. of Ath.

This opinion, satirically expressed, has more philosophy in it than the poet intended. The

The virtues are to be cultivated early, as flowers grow in spring. It would be as reasonable to expect friendly or amorous connections in the decline of life, as buds in autumn or in winter. But, as the soil is not governed by strict or accurate rules; and the productions of one season, may be sometimes transferred to another: so in human life, when disappointed in first connections, and the general seasons of forming them are passed; we retain the capacity of substituting others; which, though not so lively or vigorous, will secure considerable portions of happiness.

Though the decline of life be not the season to produce friendship; we have no reason to imagine, the affections on which it is founded, must be weakened or destroyed by age. In common cases, the memories of old persons recur to early impressions; they record the incidents of youth with so much minuteness, as to prove they principally occupy the mind. Though nearly inaccessible to present passions; at the recollection of early events, they shew the sensibility and tenderness of infancy.---Age, therefore, is

not

not to be dreaded in friendship: for the disinclination to new connections, the natural effect of habit on all the passions; the disposition of the mind, in certain periods, to live on its stock of sentiments, or to recur to youth, as to the treasury of its enjoyments;—these circumstances are in favor of friendship, which is generally contracted in early seasons; and the pleasures of which are experienced, when we have lost the desire of all others.

At the extremity of life, all the affections are extinguished; and the gradual decay of the constitution disposes or reconciles the man to his dissolution. This is unfavorable to the virtues depending on activity. But while the memory preserves any ability or strength, the impressions of friendship remain; and they never occur without pleasure.

It may yet be alleged, if these circumstances should not; absence may alienate friends: the warmth of the affections, like common flame, is to be preserved by fuel; absence instructs us to live without each other; it therefore destroys friendship.

There

There may be absences fatal to love or friendship: but the affection, in those cases, subsist only on one side. When genuine and mutual; absence, instead of abating, heightens them into enthusiasm. When present, the qualities of friends are objects of sense; in absence, they are contemplated by the imagination, which is ever favorable to the passions.

'It was the second morn since thou hadst left me,
'When, thro' the wood, I took my usual way,
'To seek the coolness of the well-spread shade
'That overlooks the flood. On a sear branch
'Low bending to the bank, I sat me down,
'Musing and still; my hand sustain'd my head;
'My eyes were fixed upon the passing stream;
'And all my thoughts were bent, on heaven, and thee.'

ETHELINDA.

This musing melancholy fixes the passion in the heart; to which absences are friendly. No man in love, would wish to improve his passion by the absence of its object: that the passion may be heightened by it, is, however, a fact, authenticated by reason and experience. In the most happy connections, if the parties are ever together; little

little blemishes or faults are discovered, and produce transient uneasiness. But in absence, the imagination alone is occupied; and it divests the favorite object of all imperfection. Thoughts are sensible ideas reflected; and thoughts are favorable representations of the original subjects. Absences may not therefore be unfriendly to the affections. But they should be necessary, forced, reluctant; or the affections will be endangered. Though the involuntary departure of the person we love, may heighten our sensibility to his excellence, or fix the imagination and heart on his virtues; a disposition or inclination to quit us; nay, patient acquiescence under necessary obligations of that kind, have contrary effects, and leave impressions on the mind, unfavorable to friendship.

It would be rather curious than useful, to point out the utmost time, affections of various degrees may endure absence; beyond which their warmth may be abated, or they must be gradually extinguished. We cannot avoid considering the great event, intended to dissolve all connections, by con-

signing to the grave, the dearest objects of our affections.

That the death of a friend, is to be dreaded, beyond all evils---I can readily admit: but that death must extinguish friendship; is not true. The operation of the fancy, in perpetuating the passions, is described by Shakspere, in the case of a mother and child; and all tender sentiments are so allied, that the circumstances affecting their cultivation or abatement are generally similar.

PANDULPHO.

You hold, too heinous a respect, for grief.—

CONSTANCE.

He talks to me, who never had a son.

PHILIP.

You seem, as fond of grief, as of your child.——

CONSTANCE.

Grief, fills the room up, of my absent child;
Lies in his bed; walks up and down with me;
Puts on his pretty looks; repeats his words;
Remembers me of all his gracious parts;
Stuffs out, his vacant garments, with his form:
Thus, have I reason to be fond of grief.*

The sentiments of friendship, according to Cicero, are similar. 'I lost my Scipio---I

* King John.

'lost

'lost him suddenly :---but he yet lives---he 'will for ever live, in my affection. It was 'the virtue of my friend I loved;---and 'virtue cannot die. Nor is he present to 'me only, who was familiar with him; his 'fame and glory shall endure through all 'generations. For no man shall form the 'idea or hope of noble achievements, with-'out looking up to the glory of Scipio; and 'proposing his example as a model.'

These are transcripts from the human heart, by considerable masters. But we need not have recourse to the artifices of poetry or eloquence, which never compleatly impose on disciplined and informed minds. We have daily opportunities of observing an amiable woman, gradually emaciating and sinking to the grave. She has lost the man of her affection; or the breath of fate, has nipped her budding hopes, by the death of a beloved child. She sighs her life away; shuns society; and courts solitude with a solicitude you pity, because you are not in the secret of her pleasures. It is in solitude, she meets her departed lover, fraught with all the tenderness her wishes can furnish,

and decked with all the charms her imagination can bestow. That retirement, which you deem her weakness, her misfortune; is her pleasure, her luxury: and the habit, will, not only fix her attachment to the latest hour; but make the departed friend grow daily dearer in remembrance.---It is this influence of the imagination on the heart: it is this art, of keeping absent objects before the mind; of rendering them more beloved, by recollecting the impatience with which they submitted to the necessity of leaving us, by regret that we have lost occasions of expressing tenderness which can never return, by stripping their images of all foibles, and rendering them the idols of affectionate enthusiasm:---this is the principle of constancy and honor; this, you are carefully to cherish in youth, on the first incidents affording opportunities; for without it, there can be no happiness in any connections of the human heart.---It is not a matter of enjoyment meerly sentimental; its moral influences are numerous and important. Besides its utility, in preparing for the most interesting duties in the connections

nections of conjugal or domestic societies, the peculiar operation of the imagination, here described, has a general effect on our conduct. Zeno, being asked by a friend, how he should avoid doing wrong. 'Imagine I am always with you.' The image of the object we esteem or love, not only keeps our affections pleasingly employed, but is a strong guard on our conduct; stronger, in some cases, than the object itself. In affectionate attachments, the image is by the fancy, rendered more interesting than the reality; and, a paradox is converted into truth; for the shadow is more powerful than the substance.

These things, may seem tinctured with romance; but no truths in philosophy are better founded. There are indisputable reasons for them, in the nature of the human imagination; and they may be proved by real facts. Instances of persons, are common, who cherish the remembrance of departed friends, with more tenderness than they felt for them while alive. The charm of first impressions in love, is never to be dispelled, if the passions be unsuccessful or

unfortunate. Let the parties be united; and they may be happy; but the force of impressions is not comparable to that which receives the aid of disappointment. Let the beloved object be taken away by death; we may be assured, the imagination will be eternally fixed; and decorate it with qualities unalloyed or unrivalled. Whatever sacrifices such persons may be induced to offer, at the shrine of interest, prudence, or ambition; the image of the first object will occupy the only place, of real value, in their hearts. This is owing to the natural, essential operations of the human imagination; and is the effect of absence or death on all excellent affections.

In families, where parents are united by proper principles, and extend their tenderness to their offspring---we frequently observe, the heart of the father or mother, principally occupied by the image of a departed child! Enquire, of those who had opportunities of information, concerning its person or its mind; you will learn nothing extraordinary: probably you will be led to suppose, it was inferior to the children remaining

maining in the family. Listen to the tale of the mother; and you will behold a singular being; not as it existed in fact, but as it has been fondly fabricated by a tender or melancholy imagination: its person formed by the graces; its mind inspired by heaven; superior in value to all the other children; and too good for the world. This is the general language of warm affections, interrupted by death: and I think it justifies the assertion, that the pleasures of friendship are extended beyond the grave.

What then, in human life, can be deemed more valuable than friendship! What, of more importance, than the choice or acquisition of a real friend? What object, in the education of youth, so material, as the art of distinguishing the characters, by which that choice may be happily made!--- The obligations of love, are more peremptory; its enthusiasm has more fervor; and its happiness is more exquisite: but they are precarious; they are extremely rare in their genuine excellence; and, without friendship, they are objects of fluctuating or capricious pursuit.---All situations in life are

joyless, without friendship. If we have knowledge, it is necessary we should have a friend, to whom it may be communicated with freedom and kindness. If we pursue pleasure, it cannot be enjoyed alone. If we possess riches, they bestow no happiness, without a friend. In prosperity, he multiplies our joys; in adversity, he divides our sorrows. There can be no disappointment; no wretchedness; no misery; which friendship will not alleviate, or render tolerable: for it administers the purest and best satisfaction. It is beyond the reach of accidents. Opposition of interests, old age, absence, even death, does not destroy it. We are sure its pleasures will be enjoyed, while we retain any consciousness or remembrance of its object. And, after our dissolution, if the principles which now compose us, should be re-united, with a recollection of present existence, our friendships must be restored among the first blessings; and contribute, as much as any other circumstances, to our future felicity.

LECTURE XLVII.

PITY.

Sui amantes sine rivali. Cic.

ROUSSEAU, after affirming *, that friendship is the first relative sentiment, either forgets or changes his opinion: directing the attention of Emile to the misfortunes or incidents around him, he says †, 'Thus is pity born, the first relative sentiment, which affects the human heart, according to the order of nature.'---Neither of the opinions are founded: we have considered sentiments of great relative impor-

* Vol. ii. p. 190. † P. 198.

tance,

tance, which precede friendship and compassion.

The birth of pity cannot be ascertained; and the affectation of announcing it, is tolerable only in poetry or romance. The relative affections are gradually, imperceptibly developed: and the dispositions to tenderness, or cruelty, are generally formed by circumstances and events, before we have prepared the means of cherishing or correcting them.---But, though I contemn dramatic artifice, in the provinces of important science, I am happy to agree with a popular author, when I have it in my power; knowing the advantage I may thereby obtain to the interest of truth, with the literary populace.

It is very proper, the minds of youth be exercised, in the virtues of humanity, previous to the approach of love; which Rousseau describes, as the season of the monsoons: and he points out, with great reason, those of compassion and benevolence. The interests or duties of conjugal life, so compleatly occupy the mind, that if its general dispositions be not previously arranged, it

can

can hardly ever be effected; and the character will remain irregular or fluctuating.

It is thought sufficient, to give good advice, or to read important lessons on these subjects: but they cannot have the effects I would wish to produce. Even examples of compassion and benevolence, if not offered with great judgment, have fallacious consequences on the characters of youth; and the habits of indiscriminate beneficence are substituted for the sentiments and principles of humanity.---That we should sympathize in the afflictions, and rejoice in the prosperity of those around us, seem to be obvious or natural tendencies of the human heart: but many difficulties occur, in giving their proper direction.

Want of food, and comfortable cloathing, are the first circumstances which interest the compassionate attention of children; and while they are employed in acts of charity, they hear dissertations on the miseries of poverty, or the advantages of affluence. The consequences are so obvious, that I never took the trouble of trying them.---As the negligences or vices of governments produce

numerous

numerous distresses or disorders among the poor, which prudence or charity alone can relieve; it is necessary, youth should be early initiated in the duties; and be rendered capable of accurately discriminating them. I do not mean, the attention of youth should be immediately directed to government. They must first taste the fruit; they will in time judge of the tree.---It is proper, those who superintend them, should comprehend the whole subject; and know that compassion, or charity, are eminently the produce of vicious institutions, civil or ecclesiastical. Despotism involves every thing around it, so much in terror and distress, that it not only creates general sympathy in the sufferers, but a disposition in itself which seems to have tendencies towards humanity. In religious codes, the general instruments of arbitrary institutions, the inclination of suffering slaves, to compassionate or assist each other, is encouraged or enjoined; and the God of the religion, is pledged to reward them.---The reason is not obvious, that despotism, employed in producing distress, should be solicitous to have

have it relieved; unless it be, that without the corrective, the community would be annihilated; or that compassion and charity may be necessary to recruit the scattered spirits of slaves, and to disperse their property into channels which may be occupied by tyranny. Whatever the particular reasons of such solicitude may be, we are sure of the facts, that institutions, voluntary subscriptions, or expensive habits of private beneficence, are ever in proportion to the vices of governments; and those splendid efforts of charity, exhibited in magnificent buildings, the boasted peculiarities of some kingdoms, are highly dishonorable to the political administrations which render them necessary.

This truth will not soon be discovered by young persons; but the necessity of relieving the poor, or consoling the afflicted, will be immediately obvious.

Rousseau declines giving examples on the mode of cultivating the virtues of humanity. He says, they would be so numerous as to perplex; or that the hints he furnishes, are sufficient to direct a skilful preceptor. I have

have searched, with great anxiety, for those hints; but in vain. I am satisfied, he had no information on the subject.

To lead children, or youth, into scenes of misery, is a common expedient; and the general maxims, on which he rests his advice, are those of antiquity misunderstood.

FIRST MAXIM.*

'It is not in our power, to sympathize, 'or to put ourselves in the condition, of 'those who are happier than ourselves; but 'only of those, who are more miserable.'---This is not true, as a general maxim; though it may be suited to the greater part of mankind in a variety of situations. Diogenes expresses a similar sentiment; but not as a maxim. Being asked, why men gave to beggars, not to philosophers; 'Because 'they fear to be lame or blind, but not to 'become philosophers.'---This fear, however, is not the proper origin of genuine or permanent humanity. The affections of the

* P. 201.

heart

heart are first exercised in domestic connections. When a parent gives up his fortune to his children, or submits to inconveniencies in the decline of life, it would be difficult to prove, he does not sympathize, or put himself in their condition; and that he is not happier in their prosperity, than he could have been in his own. This proves, we can sympathize with pleasurable, as well as painful affections.---If the general happiness of a family be interrupted by the ill health of one of its members; if the life of a child be endangered by a lingering, painful disease, it is common to observe the mother's heart absorbed by the object. Will it be said, her sympathy, pity, and tenderness, are owing to the apprehension of being in the condition of the child?---That a sense of misery, or a knowledge of its nature, is necessary to humanity, may be allowed; or that the possibility of our feeling the distresses we observe, may influence our dispositions and actions, may be true: but the proposition stated by Rousseau is not founded, as a maxim, to account for the origin of pity or beneficence.

After

After these observations, it may be necessary only to mention, the

SECOND MAXIM.

'*We pity in others, those evils only, 'from which we think ourselves not ex-'empted.'

To corroborate this feeble opinion, he quotes a classical line, as beautiful, affecting, and true.

Non ignara mali, miseris succurrere disco---

But the sentiment in it, is very different from that of Rousseau. The poet says, 'I 'am not unexperienced in misfortune, and 'I am instructed to relieve the miserable:' this does not imply, that he can sympathize only with afflictions to which he is subject.

Rousseau asks exultingly, '†Why have 'kings no compassion on their subjects? 'Because they suppose, they shall never be-'come men. Why are the rich so obdurate 'to the poor? Because they are not afraid 'of becoming poor themselves. Why do 'the nobles despise the people? Because 'they can never become plebeian. Why

* P. 203. † Ibid.

'are

'are the Turks, in general, more humane 'and hospitable than we are? Because, the 'government being wholly arbitrary, and 'the grandeur or fortune of individuals 'precarious; degradation and misery are 'not improbable in their condition.' These are partial causes, of particular appearances: they do not form the principle, or maxim, on which a virtue may be founded, not peculiar to any condition of life, or to any form of religion and government.

General experience or knowledge of pain, distress, and misery, is necessary to the virtue of compassion. The incidents of infancy or youth, though they may relate to trifles, abundantly furnish that experience; and it must be the fault of the parent, or director, if the methods of treating them do not form a disposition to humanity.

If young persons be directed early to observe domestic incidents, and their various effects on the happiness, the tempers or countenances of those around them--they will insensibly acquire that sympathy to expressions of joy or sorrow, which is the

principle of humanity, compassion, and benevolence.

This internal disposition is a better guide to charity and beneficence, than the wisest oracles that have ever been uttered, or the best advice that has ever been given.——It is true, it may be deceived, or commit errors; as we have seen, in former experiments, on the methods of relieving poverty: but experience will gradually furnish judgment, or distinguish the grimace of hypocrisy, from sensibility to real distress.

I have related, on another occasion, several fruitless trials, by my direction, to relieve apparent poverty and misery in the neighborhood of this town. The young men were so frequently the dupes of artifice, that I became apprehensive, their minds would be rendered inaccessible to any sentiments of pity. In periods of greater maturity, susceptible of deeper reflection, we connected the subject with another, and obtained our purpose, without having originally intended it. The inequality of wealth, among the members of our family, had often occa-

occasioned irregularities or vexations, against which we contrived several expedients.—Among others, we adopted the Pythagorean principle of union, forming the various allowances and presents of the pupils, into a common fund. As we were employed in arithmetical and mathematical pursuits, it was not difficult to introduce calculations of the allotments to individuals, by an equal division of the incomes of families, parishes, counties, and kingdoms. On perceiving the tendency of these pursuits, I provided books; in which the general revenues of the land and industry of the kingdom, are rendered probable: accurate truth not being necessary on the subject, or on the number of the people, by which the whole revenue was to be divided. My candid little family was astonished at the result; that, on the most favorable estimate of the income of this country, it will not furnish eight-pence a day to each of its inhabitants. It required some address, to render intelligible, that all the gradations of revenue, from the king to the various orders which verge on indigent labor, are encroachments on this allotment

of eight-pence; and that these encroachments, the interventions of Sundays, holidays, and sickness, generally reduce the actual income of the lowest, most numerous or laborious classes, below two-pence. How to manage this two-pence, to furnish any kind of subsistence for the day, became the subject of experiment, of serious importance to the information and temper of the mind. Many weeks were consumed in these trials, until malice sent out the rumor, that I had reduced the young men to a scanty allowance for my own emolument. When satisfied with such experiments, it was not difficult to turn the attention of the pupils from the artifices of beggary, to families burthened with children, whose industry could not always be profitably exerted, and could not fully provide for their wants.

I had but just time to put them into the path of humanity, when my institution was closed. Most of them quitted it, on being introduced into different societies. I have often had the satisfaction of hearing, that the most active and intelligent of the family, after having plunged into dissipation or extrava-

extravagance, has recovered the impressions then made on his mind; that he is rapidly banishing beggary and misery from his neighborhood; and by fostering the industry of parents, or the docility of children, at a small but judicious expence, he will render his estate the abode of plenty, chearfulness, and comfort.

These, in all cases, would be my lessons of humanity: they require no eloquence, or adventitious motives to enforce them.---All other methods, in my apprehension, induce sentimental softness, inconsistent with fortitude; and they foster a moral or religious species of avarice, which should never, by my consent, enter the mind of my child.

In order to improve the disposition to humanity into a spirit of benevolence, Rousseau considers man in society; and societies connected with each other. This introduces history; and he seizes the opportunity of writing satires on historians. We entered the province of history, with different dispositions; and on a plan more favorable to benevolence. By the assistance of a few intelligent foreigners, and by a

little correspondence, we obtained sufficient information, to form tolerable opinions of the condition or daily income of the people in the principal kingdoms of Europe. It would have delighted all men of just sensibility or good understanding, to observe the heir of an opulent English fortune, distressing himself, sometimes with suffused eyes, to adjust an income scarcely susceptible of denomination, to the wants of a Polish or Russian family.

That mode of inciting curiosity concerning nations, and introducing their histories, I perceived to be more favorable, than any in common use, to the candor, liberality, and benevolence, which are much affected in the language, but to me imperceptible in the transactions or manners of nations.

I did not proceed to form a concise plan of reading history. By my own practice, I should not imagine it attended with much difficulty. A general rule, with me, would be, to attach the pupil, not to professed historians, but to state papers, treaties, or the fluctuations of industry in trade, manufactures, and commerce.

Biogra-

Biography, I fear, deserves the censure bestowed on it by Rousseau: the art of it seems to have perished with Plutarch and Suetonius. It is the art of portrait-painting in literature; the moderns fail, by painting their figures without shades. As if the hideousness of such spectres were not sufficiently disgusting, they superinduce the most tiresome or perplexing confusion, by fantastic arrangements, or by classing them under the letters of the alphabet.---In the little use we made of modern biography, we were directed by the order of events; or by the professions of the persons whose characters had principally interested us.

It is usual to balance the effects of pity, by lessons on fortitude; and fortitude is supposed to be principally supported by religion. In the present equivocal disposition of men, hardly any subject offers such difficulties as religion, to a preceptor not destitute of principle. The opposite artifices of fathers and mothers, respecting opinions, which they wish to have no effect on the characters or manners of their children, would furnish ample matter of ridicule, if

it were decent to be merry on proceedings that shake the foundations of virtue; dissolve the delicate inclosures of veracity or honor; and add profligacy of conscience to interested habits of servility.

But I will not enter on a subject, at the conclusion of a Lecture; which I mean to consider fully at another time.

LECTURE

LECTURE XLVIII.

HUMANITY.

Falluntur, quibus luxuria speciem libertatis imponit. Perdere iste sciet, donare nesciet.

TAC. Hist. 30.

I CANNOT dismiss the subject of compassion, without directing your attention to the present state of the poor in England; and expressing hopes, that measures respecting them may be produced by education, which are not to be expected from government; while it is thought expedient to direct government by parties.

I do not recollect a youth, who was not brought down, from the fantastic heights of preju-

prejudice, to the calm level of humanity, by the species of calculation I alluded to, in the last Lecture. So happily associated are the sciences! So friendly to virtue, at all times, are real information and knowledge! ---'What, exclaimed the young men, were 'all the produce of the country equally 'divided, would each man's portion be only 'a bare subsistence? Why should it not be 'equally divided?'---That opened new fields of enquiry, as favorable to knowledge as to virtue.---If, on the subject of humanity, I had been content with documents or exhortations, the pupils would have retained their prepossessions on rank or wealth; they might have been induced to look down compassionately on degradation or poverty; but compassion would have been blended with pride. I thought it necessary to bring them into the condition of men; to induce them to consider mankind as of the same nature; endued with the same sensibility; and destined to the same general purposes.

It may be easy to imagine various social processes to produce inequality of wealth, or distinction of ranks: but the condition of every

every society is to be explained by a particular process. We considered the constitution of societies, for the first time, with the sole view of tracing the divisions of men into noble and ignoble, or into rich and poor.

The distinctions of rank in society, have been subjects of ingenious disquisition since the period to which I refer; and students in moral or political philosophy should peruse them. But it would not be consistent with my professions or purpose, to avail myself in a real narrative, of speculations or hypotheses, which have been since offered to the public.

In considering the condition of savages, our imaginations dwelt not on many of the circumstances, which have been thought important in determining the distinction of ranks. The observations of Cæsar and Tacitus, on the manners of the Germans, while they favored literary pursuits, gave us some principles on the subject. But principles, as well as property, are affected by revolutions: we could not trace them, in the history of any societies, as they may be supposed

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to be gradually developed; first among those who subsisted by hunting; then among shepherds or proprietors of cattle; and afterwards among the proprietors of land. We were interrupted, in the progress, by revolutions which seemed to annihilate the principles we had discovered. Sordid or sanguine ambition, involved continents in the desolations of war. Small societies, with all their customs, were compressed into a general mass; that mass broken or shattered; until despair gave it a species of organization; and it started up a destructive monster, to scatter distress and ruin through the world. The Romans forced the northern nations to relinquish little enmities; to enter into uncouth or hasty unions; and to involve all Europe in the direful effects of resentment or revenge. An enormous body, thus constructed, assumed new or peculiar principles; and the personal distinctions arising from bodily strength and valor; or the importance usually assigned even to personal property, gave way to the feodal system, with all its arbitrary distinctions and gradations. Here power effaces at once

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all the maxims, which the gradual operation of domestic or social habits may be imagined to produce. Whole nations are reduced to slavery; and the distinctions of rank, or the allotments of property, are made at the will of the conqueror.

You may suppose, in that stage of the business, we considered the feodal system meerly with a view to the origin of distinctions and ranks in modern societies. If we had attempted to comprehend its various effects, on political constitutions, civil laws, or prevailing manners, no art would have seduced the pupils to peruse the necessary authors. But having an object before them, which they perfectly understood, or in which they were interested, they were not discouraged at the size of the volumes, and they never enquired their number. In this method, we are sure not only to obtain the purpose of enquiry; but to scatter in the mind certain hints or facts, which reflection may arrange into useful, or important knowledge.---It may be proper to observe, if the parent or preceptor should conduct the pupil in a road, which he must again traverse;

he should not, in the first journey, be furnished with the most agreeable conveyance. I mean, if there be a difference, in the merit of books, on subjects to be repeatedly studied, it should be a general rule to attain the first purpose, by the assistance of the worst author. This renders a recurrence to the subject practicable; it secures the great objects of information, by preserving them distinct; and it insensibly creates the judgment, or forms the taste.

Writers of moderate reputation answered our purpose, in tracing the operations of the feodal system, on the general division of property, or the distinctions of rank. As this system gradually crumbles, or recedes from the progress of industry, it requires some address to render the blended mass intelligible. It is like a landscape, where the habitations of industry smiling around the ruins of power, check the decisions of judgment, or soften our reflections into something like regret: and it would be difficult to prevent a youth from wishing the cottage demolished, which is humbly, but awkwardly laid at the foot of the castle wall.---It will

will deserve your care, to guard against the premature impressions of splendid actions, either in war or chivalry: for I have been often mortified, when pointing out the preference due to talents and industry, in the acquisition of property and rank, to find the pupil strongly prepossessed in favor of gallantry or military valor.

The moral, as well as intellectual purpose of such methods of study, I think, however, may generally be secured. If you induce youth, to start on level ground; to consider themselves as of a common species; and to allow the expedience or advantage of general competence and happiness; which are irrefragable data in the science or philosophy you would cultivate; you may deduce all the possible sources of inequality, power, or opulence, in a manner extremely favorable to humanity and benevolence.

In moral, as in natural philosophy, the result of experiments or processes, often depends on incidents. We were favored by peculiar circumstances, in exploring the reasons of that species of justice we owe mankind, which is denominated humanity.

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In considering the rise of families, or the acquisition of wealth, we had actually removed, the common prepossession of children, that the noble and ignoble, the rich and the poor, are creatures of a different nature; different as men and monkeys. You may imagine the trouble, unnecessary; because no children could have been educated with such opinions. I may have been unfortunate; for no youth of rank or fortune has been brought to me early; in whom I could not discern that prepossession; even through the sacred masque of charity, or the artful affectation of sentimental compassion. By the means I have pointed out, we produced a persuasion, that rank and wealth had been generally obtained by vices or accidents; by fraudulent or avaricious industry; seldom by the fair exertion of useful talents, or the exercise of beneficent virtues. The opinion, that he may possibly owe his rank or wealth, to the prostitution or infamy of an ancestor, is apt to soften the arrogance, or check the pride of youth, in a manner very favorable to the duties of humanity.---But the idea of revolution or insecurity

security in the present situations and possessions of men, could not be easily introduced from the general examples of history. With this useful lesson, we were furnished at home. Our laboring gardener had lived in the neighborhood, in easy circumstances, and in credit much above them; as presumptive heir to a large estate in the north of England. On the demise of the possessor, he prepared for the enjoyment of wealth; but a claim being made by another pretending to equal affinity, the property was committed to the law: in seeking profusion, he lost a pleasurable competence, and sunk himself and family, into poverty and distress.

The man had been the object of that indolent or indiscriminate charity, which consists in giving away superfluous money; and which is as pernicious to society as any of the vices that infest it. When the pupils had been a little accustomed to reflection on the incidents affecting the fates of men, their humanity changed its nature and operations. An accurate estimate was made of his income and the wants of his family; the mode

of providing for them became the subject of serious and anxious consideration. Our finances were directed into too many channels to permit another species of fallacious charity; keeping the poor above want, but in idleness, by small and regular allowances. One of our family had formerly brought with him a sum; not much short of a hundred pounds, which he had received in presents from his friends; and which he lost in speculations of profit with a jew.—I referred to these speculations for the first time: and proposed that any superfluous money should be formed into a little capital, on which the wife and children might exert their industry, under our direction.

It would not serve my purpose to enumerate the unsuccessful, because they were aukward, efforts on bad subjects, to render the family the instrument of its own happiness. Though the materials were provided, and the goods afterwards bought by our means; the money was nearly sunk, and hardly any disposition to industry created. For we had no coercive power. I wished the

the young men to perceive the necessity of that power; intending to interest their attention to the condition or treatment of the poor. On expressing dissatisfaction, we had often received intimations from the family, that they were intitled to relief from the parish, without the conditions annexed to our compassion. It may be imagined the disappointed and mortified youth sought instruction in the poor laws, with great alacrity: they were delighted with their wisdom and humanity; as they were afterwards grieved, on discovering the artifices that obstruct their execution.

The treatment of the poor in England is directed by the common and statute laws of the land; and is an object of importance, much beyond the splendid enterprizes of commerce, colonization, and conquest. The simplicity and facility of the ancient provisions, are the great character of their wisdom and beneficence. The kingdom was divided into districts; annually chusing their magistrates; answerable for the conduct of the inhabitants; and obliged to preserve them from want. This implies every thing necessary

on a subject, at this time too complex or embarrassed for the comprehension of a numerous legislature, renowned for its loquacity, if not for its wisdom. By these provisions; no man could have been idle who was able to work; the old and infirm only were to be supported. The trade of beggary was impracticable; the district being answerable and the magistrate controuled by an easy appeal, or by annual election; no saunterers, vagabonds, or offenders were harbored, or overlooked. We are not to wonder history should refer to these times, as to golden periods; or assure us the traveller might suspend his purse on a tree, and on returning find it untouched.—— At this time, simplicity has given way to artifice or chicane; and the management of the poor, is the source of the atrocious vices which dishonor and infest the land.

The statute laws have multiplied pecuniary provisions; but by facilitating mismanagement, they have multiplied the causes of offences or crimes. The districts are no longer answerable; and they are inattentive to the conduct or character of the inhabitants.

tants. The magistrates, instead of being chosen by the people, are created or continued at the pleasure of the lieutenants of counties, who are embarked in interested factions, either in or out of power. Except in the business of parliamentary elections, they exert their power or grant redress at pleasure; the mode of punishing negligence being too hazardous and expensive, to be thought of, on trivial occasions. Those small offences which gradually generate crimes, are therefore overlooked; and though the price of labor is continnally enhancing, the kingdom swarms with sturdy beggars, ragged families unemployed, pilfering vagabonds, and persons of good appearance, but of bad fame, without possible means of honest subsistence. As if to compleat the folly or iniquity of the system, the legislature has interested the avarice of the magistrate, to connive at smaller offences and to nurture dispositions to them, by affixing rewards to the conviction, only of capital felonies. The plan of depredation in Westminster is conducted on academical principles, by which the idle or profligate incroach on the indus-

trious, until the imprudence of success in villainy, throws the criminal into the hands of the police, by committing the crimes to which rewards of conviction are annexed.

The third object of the ancient institution is neglected from a similar cause. The district was not only answerable for offences, but obliged to preserve the inhabitants from misery or want. It was therefore a principle, that those who did not derive subsistence from their fortune, or from the bounty of the opulent, should not live idly or suspiciously. The infirm and aged, when separated from impostors, were few, and easily maintained; laborious fathers of numerous families, were assisted at home to educate them in labor: and they were not educated in literature; crouded into hospitals or work-houses; and sacrificed to vice or disease. The management of the little funds necessary to that species of charity, was œconomical; for it was open, under public inspection: if any difficulties arose, either from the conduct of the poor, or of those who superintended them; the magistrate immediately interposed, because it was

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in the power of every housholder to oblige him to his duty.

At this time, enormous funds are provided, which are dissipated in secret contracts, or indefinite frauds, among those who have the management of charities and parish incomes. Those of the poor, who are reluctantly dragged into work-houses, are treated with despotic insolence, which is more intolerable than want of bread. And while every species of abuse may be suspected, or even openly practised, the poor man can have no redress; nay, the parishioner heavily assessed to the abominable system, if he presumes to enquire into its internal movements, is treated with insolent indignation. Accompts are secretly kept; or if open, they are collusively or fraudulently prepared. If the honor of these public robbers is questioned, a litigious attorney, retained in one of their offices, menaces ruinous actions of defamation. The magistrate, I mean the justice of the peace; if he understand his duty, or be well-disposed, would hesitate in committing his power against opulent combinations of determined

fraud and oppression, conducted by the pettyfogging chicane of law; and there is no method of obliging him to his duty, on which a householder of moderate circumstances would venture. We therefore continue to be oppressed with enormous poor-rates; one fourth of which, only, is supposed to be applied to objects of real charity. Supplementary hospitals are every year rising, to increase the evils they are meant to alleviate; the demands on private beneficence are not abated; beggars multiply; and the wants or distresses of the poor are not relieved.

Can any thing be stated, of equal importance with this object? Can we hear, with patience, the meretricious eloquence of our pretended representatives, on imaginary advantages and evils; on occurrences and possibilities which, like objects in the clouds, derive their magnitude from their distance, or the obscurity of the medium through which they are beheld; while, with funds that might serve the police of Europe, our poor are either starving, or crouded into oppressive, infamous institutions; and

the whole country is held in awe or terror by divisions almost innumerable, of tolerated banditti?---He, who would restore the ancient regulations on this subject; and render it the interest of the poor, to contribute to the general industry, would deserve more of his country, I will not say than any public minister; for the comparison would be degrading; than any man who has appeared in England since the days of Alfred.

You will not be surprized, therefore, I should have been solicitous to direct the attention of young men of high birth or fortune, to this object; or that the lessons of knowledge, intended to terminate in humanity, should be calculated to cherish, not that feeble, sickly pity, which gives alms to imposture; but the permanent, resolute principle, which pervades and corrects abuses; and opposes the perpetual encroachments or cruel oppressions of avarice and self-interest.

It was my design to render the offices immediately respecting the poor, or the regulation of the police, familiar to their understandings, and highly important in their estimation,

estimation. In this manner, they might have been prepared to resist that cowardly abhorrence, with which men of rank and fortune regard such employments; and to contribute towards restoring the dignity or credit of that species of magistracy, on which every thing relating to the poor immediately depends.

LECTURE

LECTURE XLIX.

MODESTY.

Famæ nec incuriosus nec vindicator. TAC. Hist. 49.

IT is not sufficient, for the happiness of life, that we possess high degrees of speculative knowledge; or that our views and intentions be upright and honorable: we must attend to the manner of exercising the great properties of the human mind.

At the period, to which our thoughts are directed, in the mangement of youth, they are in a moral condition, analogous to that of children attempting the first use of their limbs. Their misfortunes and mortifications generally arise from blunt or uncouth presumption.

sumption. If the disposition be not regulated, it may produce a species of brutality, unfavorable to those conciliating and engaging manners, which soften the asperities of contending interests, and are peculiarly important in the intercourses of domestic life.

Modest manners, and obliging attentions, may be termed secondary moralities. The English language has no phrase appropriated to them. In that of a neighboring nation, they are called 'petites morales;' and it should be noticed to its honor, that amiable or polite attentions, are important objects of education.—These circumstances, in moral philosophy, are like auxiliary verbs in languages; though not the first or most distinguished objects, they combine their properties, and direct their use.

Modesty holds the first rank among the auxiliary virtues; whether we estimate its importance from the deductions of reason, and the attestation of facts; or from the distinctions allotted it, in all those grammars of moral language, the bibles and religious directories of the world.

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I do not recollect, however, a just or accurate definition of modesty. Where the definition is obscure, the virtue is not understood; and it cannot be produced by the processes of a rational education.

Pride is said to be too high; humility too low; modesty, a just opinion of ourselves. But this does not convey a precise idea of the virtue: a man who would entertain just opinions of himself, and express them in his general behavior, might not acquire the character of modesty.

It is true, we are not to 'think of ourselves more highly than we ought to think;' vanity being productive of numerous inconveniences. It is also true, we should avoid too low an estimate; for meanness is productive of crimes. It is therefore of importance, we should form a just opinion. In education, this will be the consequence of employing the faculties on their proper objects; and avoiding the addition of praise or blame, to actions which carry with them their own gratification. But modesty, the mean between pride and humility, does not consist in a just opinion of ourselves; though

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that opinion be an ingredient of the virtue. It is necessary, we should estimate our abilities by various exercises; and be secured against vanity and meanness; or we shall not be susceptible of modesty. For it is that disposition which holds our endeavors within their sphere. Vanity tempts us beyond the terminating line; timidity or meanness considerably within it. Modesty moves on the utmost limits of the sphere; but with a checked and internal inclination. It is necessary to have accurate ideas of modesty; and that we should act carefully on them, in the management of youth; or we may produce the artifices of vanity, meanness, and hypocrisy.

We have often observed, the virtues are the effects of experience; and we have additional proofs of the truth, by investigating the nature of modesty. To judge of our abilities or dispositions, with moderate but accurate truth; at once removed from vanity and meanness; must be the effect of cultivated reason. Modesty, without knowledge, without experience; communicated by extraordinary influence; or formed by in-

injunctions, promises, and punishments, must be spurious; or it must be miraculous, like the fruits and flowers that spring up by the steps of the Gods.

'Know thyself,' is a precept of great antiquity. In the use of all the sciences, it leads to all the virtues. In moral philosophy, it is analogous to the art which produces activity and grace in the management of our limbs; or skill in the mechanic arts: and education in the former, is similar to an apprenticeship in the latter. But in ignorant, barbarous, or superstitious societies, the common arts are in higher estimation than intellectual dispositions; and greater attention is afforded to an apprenticeship than to education. This is the reason, we often observe, men endeavoring to learn the use and value of their powers by random imitation, by casual and capricious instruction, or by exercises and applications unsuitable to early years; and they learn the use of their hands, in a mechanic art, by an apprenticeship consisting of experience or practice. This is also the reason that, in modern communities, commerce, wealth, and pros-

prosperity, do not produce their just proportions of private and public happiness; because, men being extremely attentive to the several methods of procuring money, understand not the art of living. Wealth and prosperity are produced by neutral powers; they may be the means of happiness, in minds or communities rightly formed; or the means of wretchedness, in those formed viciously and at random.

Youth conducted to the period under consideration, on the plan, of which I have given slight and detached outlines, would require only a gentle hand, to check into modesty their first use or display of knowledge. The purpose of their industry has not been misunderstood or perverted, by the application of punishments or rewards. Knowledge, therefore, does not necessarily imply vanity; or ignorance, shame.—It is possible, and it is desireable, the pursuits of knowledge, to this period, may be directed by the impulse of domestic affections, or by the variety and pleasure of its gratifications: for it requires judgment and prudence to exhibit

exhibit our acquisitions to others, or to apply them to general purposes.

The time may be approaching, when the art of rendering others happy, will appear the end, to which all the acquisitions of the pupil in knowledge, can owe their value or importance. It is proper, therefore, he should be previously induced to estimate his abilities, with this view; that he should not be content with the idea of being wise, or learned, or rich; but acquire the art of using his possessions, to render others happy, and to recommend himself to their esteem.

Modesty is so evidently the effect of self-knowledge, that a vain man is generally said, not to know himself. Conceit and impudence are the offspring of ignorance, or of artifice to conceal ignorance. Hence the prevalence of these imperfections; for ignorance is led into vice by trifling circumstances; and artifice has recourse to impudence, as a masque. But vanity is generally occasioned by a circumscribed education, by directing the mind to one object, or inducing it to succeed in one science. Since the diffusion of real knowledge, the linguists

of public institutions appear, in their just characters, of conceited pedants. They have thought themselves elevated above mankind, for the same reason the saint thinks himself elected; their minds were bounded by contracted lines, or occupied by single objects. Vanity, therefore, may be deemed the infirmity of little minds, attentive to single circumstances, or engaged in circumscribed circles of pursuit. It may imply the idea of excellence in particular properties; but overrated, or inclining the mind out of that calm and pleasing equilibrium, which is the effect even of an introduction into general knowledge. When the minds of youth are gradually opened, to all the objects that should employ them, they are too much interested to admit the insipidities of vanity; we have nothing to apprehend, but from the indirect or improper approach of a real and powerful passion.

The effect of extensive views is amiable diffidence; the foundation of genuine modesty. The pupil sees the province in which he has been occupied or may have excelled, as a spot almost imperceptible in the

map of general science; and if indiscreet applause should have rendered him vain, he will be astonished into insignificance at the multitudes that excel him; he will conceive respect, or veneration for the merits of others; and his mind will gradually meliorate or soften into modesty.---This explains the facts---that pride, like a rank weed, grows luxuriantly in the shade; that persons immured in cells, cloisters, or colleges, are peculiarly susceptible of the infirmity, which is to be removed by coming into the world; and may be substituted for modesty by various or general knowledge.

There is a pride of moral excellence or virtue; as dangerous as the vanity of knowledge; often cherished in youth by indiscreet applause of useful or amiable dispositions. We have had occasion to observe the general cause of such indiscretion;---that of producing virtues by precepts, promises, or menaces; not insensibly ingrafting them, in the constitution of a mind well-formed, trained up in virtuous habits, and regulated by necessary knowledge. In the present state of the moral world, the

virtues and vices are allegorical, or spiritual beings; and there is an order of magicians, in all countries, who command them. They are called up occasionally, before the people, with many ceremonies and rites. Piety is distinguished by a terrific sublimity of features, and menacing majesty of gesture. Truth, by a beautiful correctness of countenance, depressed by confinement or indignity. Humanity, by the suffusion of sorrow in her eye; and benevolence, galled by the chains of intolerance or bigotry. Hell is thrown open; and destruction uncovered. Miseries are formed into spectres; called out; and severally distinguished. These are contrasted, by a paradise, decorated at the pleasure of the most licentious imaginations.---What are the consequences, in minds unprepared or perverted by education? Men do, in morals, what they ought to do in love; attach themselves to single objects: we commonly see, piety without truth, honesty without piety, or charity without benevolence. They imagine themselves safe in cherishing esteem for useful dispositions; and they become vicious by cultivating

cultivating virtues.---This species of vanity is to be corrected by extending our experience; or enlarging the ground on which we move. We shall thus be forced into comparisons with equals or superiors; and by acquiring knowledge, we shall acquire modesty.

Vanity may be the affectation of properties we do not possess: and this infirmity is always accompanied or supported by artifice. It may proceed from a source, not unlike that of modesty; a sense of imperfect knowledge, or a desire to conciliate esteem. But in virtuous minds, the consciousness of imperfection, is the motive of industry, and is not attended with shame. In the vain, it is the consciousness of criminal negligence; not meliorated by regret or the purpose of reformation. Virtue seeks esteem, by cultivating a taste for the pleasures of benevolence; which is happier in conferring than in receiving benefits. Vanity seeks applause; inattentive, because undeserving of esteem; with the sole view of its own gratification, or its own advantage.---Men of such dispositions have much

to do, to prepare their minds for the cultivation of modesty. First principles must be corrected or changed, by attentive, painful processes, which few vain men are capable of undergoing.---But the inconveniences attending this species of folly, are sufficiently numerous and mortifying, to induce persons to correct it, who are not wholly incapable of consideration. It is not difficult to convince youth, by short experiments, or obvious examples, that vanity engages men in the impracticable undertaking of uniformly supporting artificial characters; all the parts of which may be above their pretensions. The consciousness of imperfection, or of comparative ignorance, in a virtuous mind, is a solemn but pleasing sensation; and produces that modesty, which is the sublimest sentiment of religion; whose object is all nature, or the Almighty principle actuating it.

To say, we should be unassuming or modest, in every thing relating to the operations of nature, or to the intentions and purposes with which they may be directed; that we should abstain from the barbarous affecta-

affectation of being familiar with the Deity; of indolently and indecently addressing him at our tables; or of publicly conferring fulsome epithets of adulation and compliment on his attributes or name:---this is not enough;---'we cannot by searching find out God:'---the most extensive, the most accurate enquiries into nature, produce only the knowledge of effects; or that some principles direct them, which may be analogous to our imperfect properties of wisdom and goodness. We are left to imagination in all further opinions; but we should be cautious in indulging it: our devotional reverence, or religious modesty, should consist, not in associating objects, or assimilating attributes, so unsusceptible of comparison as those of a Deity actuating nature, and mankind; not in crouching at his majesty, or deprecating his resentment; for he must be incapable of despotism, or of anger; but in studying with diligent admiration, or enjoying with justice and benevolence, the indefinite, stupendous, and useful effects of his power; in conforming to the appointments, which

are signified by the disposition or tendency of every atom of his works.

In our connections with each other, no virtue can be of greater use than modesty. It tempers claims to distinction and advantages, in a manner to prevent brutal encroachments, or violent contentions. It is essential to friendship, which must be clear of superciliousness, haughtiness, or pride; and can walk only on equal ground. It renders the duties of virtue, consistent with the distinctions of society. It might exhibit the fabulous scenes of the golden age; bring kings and subjects, rulers and people, like lions and lambs, to associate or live in peace. Were the passions of men regulated by modesty; ambition or avarice would not deluge the earth with the blood of its inhabitants: the cruelties of war, the depredations of villany, the rancor of religious zeal, and the animosity of contending interests, would be no more.

Modesty is a virtue, without which, knowledge, truth, justice, rank, fortune, and beauty, contribute partially and imperfectly to the happiness of life.

LEC-

LECTURE L.

DECORUM.

---quædam ex dignitate reipublicæ; pleraque contra decus, ex præsenti usu properando. TAC. Hist. 77.

THERE is a species of attention, allied to modesty, which I have had difficulties to obtain, in the direction of youth; and which has no appropriated denomination in the English language: I mean, the attention to appearances, or the solicitude, that our purposes and actions be properly understood.

In what manner these dispositions would arise from the management or education I have recommended, I cannot describe from actual

actual experience; not having superintended a pupil for a sufficient time, to mark his natural or easy transitions through the several periods of early life.---Rousseau has ventured to describe Emile, in the first efforts to display his talents, to mingle in society, and to conciliate affections. But Rousseau painting a landscape, by fancy, had only to give its parts probability, harmony, and pleasing effects. I am pointing out paths, which many of you are prepared to tread; misrepresentation or error would, by immediate detection, not only have the common reproaches of deceit, but the resentment and hatred of premeditated injury. The young men who have been, in any degree, under my direction, received their education in public schools; where social transactions were numerous, and where the love of fame usually encroached on all the other passions. Youth, thus educated, have a spirit of enterprize, and regard to the reputation of talents; but hardly any other principle, as the immediate produce of instruction or discipline. They are aukward in address, brutal in gratifications, and inattentive to decency in morals.

morals. The system of dependance, of the feeble on the strong, generates a species of artifice, or of implicit acquiescence, deemed serviceable in the interested competitions of life; but not that desire of general esteem, or of appearing to deserve it, often important to our elevation and happiness. By the discipline of public schools, the attention is occasionally directed to single objects, of brilliant and captivating natures; all the powers of the mind are, for a short time, concentrated by intense application; and the pupil sinks into a state of slovenly lassitude, unfavorable to the engaging intercourses of social life. We observe, when talents thus developed are directed to an object, either in science or morals, they are absorbed in its vortex, and the devotee falls beneath his rank, in the general offices of society. The applause or the advantage attending exalted eminence, on particular subjects, produces negligence of other things; often attended with unexpected and fatal inconveniences.

This attention, in morality, like politeness in manners, may not be absolutely

essential

essential to the character of greatness or splendor, though it be to that of agreeableness and utility. Many of the advantages of excellence may be lost, if it be obscured or clouded in the mind of the possessor: we deem it imprudent or faulty, in persons of real merit, to render their actions liable to misconstruction; and, either through pride or indolence, to suffer calumny to misrepresent their virtues. If they could taste the pleasure, good men feel, in having their intentions understood or esteemed; if they knew the regret they might ward from their acquaintance, who are anxiously employed in explaining their meaning, or preventing malice from destroying them---they would be induced to give that attention to appearances in virtue, which is customary in the inferior concerns of conversation and manners.

Men in general judge by obvious appearances. They have neither leisure or opportunity to form opinions on profound enquiries. If our intentions are good, and appearances evil, we lose the approbation of the multitude; we lose a pleasure, which few

few men can reject, in their injudicious praises; we lose the power and satisfaction of rendering them important services.

These observations may be thought interesting only to persons distinguished by capacities, virtues, or fortunes. In education, every pupil is to be managed, as destined for distinction. The imprudence, under consideration, is generally observed to be that of genius, or of men in great and important pursuits: but it is not the necessary accompanyment of great abilities, or great undertakings. There is a consciousness or elevation in superior talents and designs, which cannot be suppressed; which is, in fact, a peculiar reason for circumspection; as elevated objects are exposed to observation. On the least misapprehension, persons of high pretensions conceive a contemptuous pride, disdaining any regard to the ignorance of those beneath them. Without this condescension, genius and knowledge are nearly useless. The benefits of an enlarged mind, cannot be confined to itself: and there are but few situations, affording pleasures so exquisite, as those of

abilities

abilities or knowledge dispersing the errors which embarrass or embroil the people; pointing out the means of alleviating their miseries, or of cultivating the dispositions and virtues which render them happy. They look up to such persons, as to beings of superior order; and their grateful attachment is among the best rewards of knowledge or beneficence. These rewards are not to be obtained, if we disregard the circumstances, under which the people form their judgment; if we exhibit our talents inattentively; or suffer our intentions to be misrepresented.

But ignorance is not the only circumstance, against which precaution should be taken: evils of a serious nature are to be apprehended, from the spirit of competition, converted into envy. I have never observed pupils of public schools who did not betray that spirit of competition in every exertion of their talents. Indeed the influence of that disposition has pervaded the provinces of science, of legislation, of theology, and even of private conversation. If a subject be discussed, it must be at the expence

pence of temper, civility or benevolence in the parties.

Public institutions affording little assistance in the cultivation of the sciences, their provinces are not much infested with the baneful spirit of contention. The legislature is, in this respect, disgraceful to the character of the nation. Members go into it from college, not with dispositions favorable to enquiry, deliberation or council; but with those of prize fighters, who are to contend with acrimony or malignity on every subject of consideration. This is the reason, that modern eloquence, I refer to that of England, is greatly inferior to the eloquence of antiquity. Indeed its nature and character are so different, that they hardly admit of comparison.

In theology, controversy implies every thing degrading or detestable. In conversation, combatants enter the lists; and the object is victory, not information or participated pleasure. Here the injury is extensive in its effects; for it poisons the general sources of social happiness. To offer a doubtful opinion is to throw the gauntlet;

candor,

candor, modesty and enquiry are banished clubs, parties, or hospitable appointments. The art and advantages of conversation, like those of eloquence, are misunderstood or unknown in England; where every thing is infested by emulation, competition, or contest.

I may here hint, that regulated assemblies for conversation, would be useful to youth; as the manner of participating it, is of great importance to our happiness.

With such dispositions as we receive from education, it is not wonderful we are infested by envy or detraction. Illusions respecting merit and distinction, give envy here peculiar asperity. We are taught at school, not to be content with deserving, but to solicit or to condend for rewards: we come into public life with an opinion, that merit and reward are connected. We continue in the habit of contest, are astonished at the difference in the events of life and those of the world; that we can perceive no connection between merit and reward: the disappointment gives acrimony to vicious properties implanted by education; and the

effects

effects of envy or detraction are more extensive, more virulent in England than in any other nation. Partial or imperfect liberty, operates on these malignant qualities. Arts of defamation, in despotic governments, are awed or effectually repressed, by powers of such extent and discretion as they cannot hope to evade. Here they are subject to laws, incompetent, absurd, or vexatious. They are easily eluded; and the general disposition to offend, renders the arts of elusion popular. It would be a question of difficulty, whether the evils occasioned by the abuse of printing in private scandal, by disturbing the general peace, confidence or happiness of characters and families, be compensated by its public benefits?---It may be said---the character of the press is understood; or that its defamation is no dishonor. This is not the case, when defamation becomes the object of superior talents. Common dirt thrown by the daily drudges of envy or malignity, may be washed off without injury; but when genius or science slinks behind, and sprinkles our gar-

ments, the substance is corroded; for every drop burns its way.

Deceitful appearances of liberty induce men to attempt reforms in oppressive or injurious institutions: if government partake not the supposed advantages of abuses; professions and classes supported in idleness or luxury, furnish swarms of vindictive champions, who supply the defect of argument by private scandal and detraction.

Besides these persons, there are multitudes of inferior minds, always surrounding real talents. Candidates for the same advantages and fame; but feeling an inferiority which must disappoint them in just or fair competitions, they regard merit with vindictive jealousy. It would be difficult to point out an evil principle so injurious or so incurable. Desire of eminence, even in the warfare of talents, may be a noble passion. In the present state of opinions, no great actions would be performed, if men had not the desire of distinction, or of doing every thing in the most splendid and captivating manner. This produces emulation and

and rivalship; which, in superior minds, are accompanied with generosity; though not with the satisfaction which a better education would produce. No Englishman could decently affect the pleasure of that Spartan, who found he had not been chosen into the council; and returned home, thanking the Gods there were in Sparta three hundred men more deserving than himself.

The disposition to envy, is generally that of an intermediate but numerous order, filling up the space between genius and dullness; between virtue and vice; or between religion and profligacy. It infests the world with numerous evils. In the sciences and arts, it is called criticism and virtu. Persons, who have not talents or vigor to produce any thing original or excellent; who dare not enter the lists with the first order of human beings in generous competitions; have sufficient skill to deface beauties they cannot imitate; or to point out blemishes, from which no human productions can be free.

In virtue or religion, envy is the parent of hypocrisy; which holds out pretences for

realities; and is employed in detracting from merit, or in magnifying errors and faults.—That hypocrisy is the most detestable of vices, I will readily allow; but Cicero has reprobated its folly, because virtue may be obtained in an easier manner.

I will not enter into the question of the original differences of human capacities: but with great deference to the opinion of Cicero, I could never observe, that youth disposed to hypocrisy, had equal talents to those of candid and open minds. Pretenders of all sorts, seemed defective in abilities to rise with ease into the roads of excellence: it was less difficult to cover themselves with the veil of hypocrisy, than to furnish additional vigor of mind, or a capacity to act uniformly on the principles of virtue. In the sciences or in the arts, we have numerous critics or virtuosi; but few men of genius. The provinces of virtue and religion, swarm with sentimentalists and hypocrites; but how uncommon a truly good man? This would not be the case, if the principles of genius and virtue were attainable with more ease, than the pretensions of hypocrisy.

It

It may be sometimes difficult to understand the reasons, that pretenders have greater credit with the people, than persons of real merit. Hypocrites are attentive, honest men are inattentive, to appearances. Hypocrites are industrious in deceiving the multitude into admiration of false qualities or designs; the consciousness of rectitude satisfies the mind of an honest man; and it is often difficult to induce him to regard public opinion.

This is a subject of great delicacy in the management of youth; and I had peculiar difficulties, as every considerable event of my life had been affected by inattention to it. My own contempt of what is denominated public opinion, has been so great, that I have provoked malignity, by rather countenancing than discouraging rumors or appearances against myself. This is a perversion of the spirit of independence, which I know to be faulty; and must be attended with disappointments or injuries to any man embarking in public business, or expecting reward from the general opinion of his talents and virtues. A combination of inci-

dents, which it would be difficult to explain, in the first years of my residence in town, nearly extinguished in my mind the love of fame. The fact is sometimes doubtful to myself: but it is fact. A disposition to compress the circle of my actions and enjoyments, has gradually prevailed over every other; and, at this time, obeying the impulse of my disposition, I should, on every occasion, prefer the opinion of my friend to that of my country; and that of a small circle of my connections, to the whole world. This would be inexcusably criminal, if I thought my country or the world in a condition to form a real and genuine opinion. It would involve me in perplexing disappointments, if the common reputation or success of my designs, actions, or writings, were necessary to my happiness.---It is well they are not; or I must enter on the laborious, perhaps impracticable undertaking, of changing the fixed dispositions and habits of my mind. When I say; as I do with truth; that since the publication of any work I have offered to the public, I have never looked into it; that I cannot imagine

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I should feel regret, if every thought and letter of it were erazed; and that I would not barter the affection of an intimate friend, or the enjoyment of domestic felicity, for any species of applause which either the multitude of the present time, or posterity, might bestow on my name: I shall affirm what may be doubted by those who do not know me.---I may render my competence suspected, in advising or directing youth to regard the appearance of their good qualities and virtues. But it may be easily imagined, instructions receive peculiar effect from the errors of the instructor: and when faults are not of contagious malignity, they assist us in guarding the virtues of others.

You will recollect, in the method I recommend, youth are not to be instructed by declamation or advice; but by forming incidents into lessons.

We were at no loss, to point out among our acquaintance, numerous instances, where men of excellent minds, had incurred general odium, by attempting to confine their satisfaction to the approbation of their

minds: and we fixed on single incidents in the conduct of the pupils, which were managed to be misunderstood and blamed by the family and neighborhood.---A transaction took place, which illustrated the importance of extending our attention beyond the circle of our friends. A lady came into one of our rooms, where a pair of loaded pistols had been left on the table, of which she understood not the management: she took up one of them; and the ball passing under a gentleman's arm, and across the garden, it shattered the window of an opposite house. Proper attention was paid to the accident, to prevent the supposition of an intended injury. But the gentleman had been wounded; and the family preserving within itself the real state of the transaction, it was thought to be an attempt at self-murder; and his character continued many years under the inconveniences of that imputation.

Instances of an opposite nature were also easily produced. Persons of pleasing manners, in the circles of their acquaintance, are often destitute of private principle, or

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of domestic honor and justice. Ambitious men are generally inattentive to the voice of private conscience, the claims of domestic connections, or the laws of friendship.--- Our difficulty is in producing examples, where all these attentions are combined. They cannot occur in our acquaintance, without the necessity of making allowances or exceptions; and this indulgence, if not used with great judgment, may have effects opposite to our intentions.

In all these processes, the lives of Plutarch are of great utility; as they afford examples under the several heads of instruction to which I have referred.

LECTURE

LECTURE LI.

POLITENESS.

---nullam ingenii sperantes gratiam circa res, etiamsi necessarias, procul tamen ab ostentatione positas: ut operum fastigia spectantur, latent fundamenta.

QUINTIL. Proem.

AS a tree, when it has shot its roots, and is fixed in the ground, may accommodate itself to the variation of seasons, and be the more beautiful to beholders, if it be not rigid, or admit of certain degrees of flexibility; in the same manner, when the general principles of moral conduct are formed or fixed, youth may admit of certain flexibilities; they will be more useful, and appear

appear more amiable by having the qualities of civility, complaisance, or politeness.

It is not necessary to apologize for including politeness among the most desultory hints towards introducing a plan of education. Various affectations, assuming the name, are the points of distinction in which men wish to be viewed, and the means of their fortune and happiness. If there be, in our present morals or religion, any thing to which even spurious politeness gives place, I own myself unacquainted with it.---The genuine manners of a well-bred man, give our characters peculiar effect, like beautiful flowers in useful or fertile grounds: affected manners are like weeds, amusing the fancy of the undiscerning, while they choke or starve every thing valuable around them.

Civility, complaisance, and politeness, are, in education, as ornaments in architecture, as poetry in letters, as the fine arts among the occupations of industry. Their relative importance is to be determined by the prevailing wants, customs, or habits of particular communities. In the first periods of society, the attention of men is to strength, mutual support,

support, or assistance; and the virtues to be cultivated are those called fundamental; truth, honesty, and benevolence. When these are fixed, like the foundations of a building, the qualities of civility, complaisance, and politeness, may be added, as the arts of painting and sculpture are used to give effect to an edifice.

When dispositions to tender passions are gradually springing up in the mind, they indicate the season in which we should begin to soften or to place in beautiful lights, the essential properties of a virtuous character.

The absurdities or injuries occasioned by manners assuming the denomination of politeness, are owing to errors concerning the nature of the virtue. It is not understood as founded on useful or important principles; but to be their substitute, as hypocrisy is the substitute of goodness. Common apprehension and common language distinguish it from virtue: when civility is pointed out, we are so far from connecting it with benevolence, that we suspect it to arise from indifference or insincerity. When we say, a man is complaisant

plaisant or polite, we do not mean, he has real dispositions to conform to our inclinations on observing their utility; or that he has the exquisite, the honorable art of dissipating chagrin, and making us pleased with ourselves: but that he feigns conformity to all inclinations, right or wrong; or says advantageous and flattering things, to all men, on all occasions, with a view to the advantage or gratification of the moment.

We are advanced into a period of civilization, where politeness ranks with the principal virtues. It is of importance, we should distinguish it from the arts assuming its name, and which, instead of improving, corrupt or injure societies. In these circumstances, it may not be a subject of enquiry, whether truth be preferable to error, or honesty to chicane; and powerful interests may prevent recurrence to first principles. Societies advanced and fixed in their habits of morality, are generally actuated by intellectual monopolies, which have sufficient influence or authority to shelter their interests under public denominations. If the spirit of enquiry resist or evade the terrors

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of persecution; they appeal to the prudence or passions of the public; and by the illusions of fallacious analogy, compare societies to individuals. Defects or vices, entering into the formation of a state, are to be indulged; for an attempt to extirpate them, would hasten its dissolution. Persons disputing this truth, they would represent as political empirics; though physicians extirpate constitutional diseases, with great advantage to their patients. We observe, by the fluctuation of events, fortunately directing the operations of industry, communities gradually relinquishing their diseases, and totally changing their forms; while they preserve their apparent identity, or improve in public health and prosperity.

Though it be not with political, as with physical bodies, where the Ethiopian cannot change his skin, or the Leopard his spots; yet there may be periods of depravity, in which defects or vices cannot be remedied; when the knowledge of evils we have not vigor to remove, only adds to our dishonor and wretchedness.

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I offer these observations, because qualities or virtues derive relative importance and value in education from the circumstances or manners of the times. A disposition to the great or essential virtues of a moral character, might be cultivated, as we have seen, by the lessons of literature and science; as learning or knowledge may be promoted by the virtues. To direct youth thus educated in the exercise of their talents; to form their manners into genuine civility or politeness, would not be difficult. The essential dispositions of an elevated and amiable mind are not the objects of public education; and in the proposed improvements of established institutions, such portions and appearances of them are given, as will bring the pupil within the boundaries of particular customs. But there is an art called politeness, which is cultivated as the instrument of social intercourse; implying every thing in an accomplished character. To this art we should give particular attention.

Civility is a general candor, incident to youth, when not perverted by education; but

but difficult to be produced, when the perversion has taken place. Difference of opinion, implies contradiction or insult, according to the usages of schools; and the pupils mechanically resent them.---The first experiment I made, on a youth in these circumstances, involved me in disagreeable difficulties. With an excellent understanding, and considerable pretensions to learning, he was perpetually embroiled by blunt manners, or the offensive spirit of contradiction. I drew him into conversation with myself, while I appeared to be writing hints or memorandums on indifferent subjects. I took minutes of the conversation: on his contradicting me, in a manner equivalent to saying, 'you lie'---I gave him a box on the ear; and went out of the room. The young man was astonished; not having observed any thing like violence before in the family. His companions supposed I was irretrievably affronted; but were not insensible of the provocation. The youth was induced to think he had done wrong; but his mind was principally occupied by the injury: and he retired to his room. In the evening, the family

family observed a silence which had something in it like apprehension; which I soon dissipated, by explaining my intention. I proposed to shew him the minutes I had taken; and observed that, in the occurrences of life, such conversations must terminate in murder. I had no suspicion of danger, in my own proceedings. I was called to town early in the morning; and in my absence he was sent for home, on business not admitting delay. I foresaw the danger; and followed him: but the moment the father entered the room, I perceived the mistake must have its full effect. He had the folly to propose with earnestness and indignation that the business should be terminated, by him or his son, according to the laws of honor. I attempted to make him sensible of his indiscretion; but that was not a trifling undertaking on any occasion; and the violence of his manner, ruffled my temper, even in a lesson on candor and civility. After some important discussions by learned professors in the laws of honor; the intended process was explained; the minutes read; and the mis-

chievous effects of incivility exemplified by the embarrassments or vexations we had undergone. The whole proceeding, though entangled by unexpected incidents, did not take up nine days: no other species of instruction in my knowledge, would have induced the youth to guard or correct his disposition in as many weeks.

I mention the instance, not only to give additional effect to the general principles of these lectures; but as an answer to some persons, who may be here: who have lately remonstrated, for passing unnoticed and unchecked, improprieties in the conversation or behavior of young gentlemen referred to me for assistance and direction. They wish me, I suppose, to reprimand or advise. I leave such offices to them; if they have an opinion of their good effect. I had similar counsel, from the father of the youth, under consideration; even after he had seen the consequences of different proceedings. With joy, I believe unaffected but as stupid as the former indignation, he took my hand, 'Why had not you told us 'your intention? Why not give the boy a little

'a little good advice, when you see him 'wrong; and not plunge us all, at once, 'into such dreadful situations! My poor 'boy will not recover himself in many 'weeks.' I felt pungent disgust at an incurable folly which obstructed my way; but recollecting my undertaking would never be terminated if I included the family in every proceeding, I satisfied myself with rendering the son the little service I was permitted to do by the father.

The advantages or conveniences of the habit of civility, when given to a mind truly or virtuously balanced; when founded on dispositions to think favorably, or to afford merit and excellence an affectionate reception:---the disadvantages or mischiefs of the affectation of civility, subservient to mean or selfish views; are too obvious, to need discussion.---We see, in some societies not acquainted with the forms of good breeding, that genuine civility gives their active intercourses an air of pleasing calmness; every member meets his neighbor with the smile or disposition of philanthropy; and his endeavors to advance his fortune, or

to distinguish his talents, are treated with candor, or encouraged with generosity. The arts of civility, superinduced on perverted passions or vicious characters, throw over pretended friendship and the intercourse of life, a general diffidence or suspicion; initiate youth in the mysteries, and reconcile them to the views, of abandoned hypocrisy; to smile when they betray; to caress when they hate; to prostitute truth, honor, and virtue, to private interest or gratification. The former are the emanations or manners of a great mind; and they ensure happiness, if not success: the latter are the artifices of little minds, which may be successful, perhaps, in the intrigues of low passions or paltry interests, but will ensure contempt and misery.

Complaisance is a disposition of a more active nature than civility; it is that by which we conform to the inclinations or tastes of others. It occupies the interval of haughty obstinacy and mean servility: and its effects are like those ascribed to enchantment. We are always taken into the bosom of the man, to whose inclinations we affec-

affectionately conform. This is generally the first step to love; it secures domestic happiness; it cements friendship; and it renders public manners amiable or delightful.

The use or advantages of real complaisance, require attention and judgment in the persons possessing it. A mind harmonized by the union of knowledge and virtuous dispositions, is prepared to tolerate infirmities or faults in others, which it is not inclined to adopt; with which it could not assimilate. This may furnish the criterion of true and false complaisance. The former yields to the inclinations or tempers of others, beyond the limits invariably prescribed to its own; allowing for misapprehensions, and desirous to diffuse happiness: the latter, occupying a mind destitute of fixed principles; accommodates itself to all inclinations, where advantages may be hoped for, or dangers apprehended.

This disposition is to be gradually improved into politeness; a gradation of beauty and elegance in manners, seldom to be expected in young people. It requires know-

ledge of the real principles of decency; it possesses those exquisite and benevolent arts of address, which play on the failings of others, without exposing their deformity; and by bringing their excellencies into strong lights, induce them to correct or amend their characters. This requires improved talents; confirmed integrity; and taste formed on accurate, extensive information.

An indistinct apprehension of the importance of politeness, has taken place in all nations. Reputation of good breeding is the general ambition, where men possess the power of giving pleasure, or conferring benefits. It would be, the pre-eminence, the perfection of human nature, if it were the result of superior understanding, extensive knowledge, and perfect integrity, enabling the possessor to present himself to others in the most elegant and pleasing lights; to diffuse content and pleasure around him; to soften the faults of the unfortunate; to encourage the diffident; to smooth the furrows of discontent; and alleviate the sufferings of misery.---This is true politeness. It is the happy, the beautiful combination of

all

all the virtues, brought into action by a superior understanding; and, in manners, it is the utmost point of human excellence.

The various modifications of manners, which, in our miserable moralities, assume its name; are separated from the virtues; rendered distinct arts; and of little importance but to amuse women, or to deceive them; to sooth the infirmities or vices of princes; to give the appearance of benevolent condescension to selfish views; and to cajole men out of their virtue or property. The difference of perfect virtue and hypocrisy; of those easy, refined manners we may ascribe to angels, and the artful distortions or grimaces of fiends---are not greater than the difference of real politeness, and the arts arrogating its name: the principal instrument of which is flattery.

'As Camelions take all colors, except 'white; flatterers have all points, except 'honesty. As worms soonest breed in soft 'and sweet wood; the most gentle minds, 'inclined to honor, replenished with honest 'and virtuous manners, soonest admit flat-'terers, and are most abused by them.'---

Flattery is a poison, so subtile, so insinuating, so pleasing, that when directed with art, hardly any prudence can ward off its effects. It so nearly resembles the kindness of friendship, in softening defects or enhancing excellencies, that we are not to wonder it escapes common discernment, or that gentle and virtuous natures are adulterated by it.—In the art of administering this poison, every species of fictitious politeness consists; in practising an interested system of falshood, under pretences of affectionate self-denial, and perpetual sacrifices to the gratification of others. While true politeness renders men useful or pleasing members of private societies, and extensive benefactors of mankind; the interested affectation of it, is extremely dangerous to private connections, and injurious to the world. The secret scenes of perfidy or wickedness; the devastation of all honor, confidence, virtue, and happiness, occasioned by flattery to women, could not be described without horror. When women have been accustomed to the false gratification or delight of flattery, they are in the condition of the unfortunate

wretches

wretches who have acquired a taste for strong spirits, and cannot live without them. There is no peace or satisfaction; all is weariness, gloom, or horror, but in a state of intoxication: all kinds of profligacy and wretchedness are the consequences. It is the bane of love, friendship, good neighborhood, of all the calm or permanent satisfactions of society; it nearly deprives the opulent and great of the possibility of being intelligent or virtuous; and it renders princes and kings, the plagues or curses of the earth.

We are not secure from this vice, even when we have discovered its purposes. 'I 'know thou liest,' (says the old man, in one of Terence's comedies) 'I know thou liest, 'Davus: but go on---I am pleased with 'thee.' What hopes can be entertained of recovery, if, seeing we are deceived, we cannot avoid the consequences, because we cannot forego the pleasures of flattery?

The best natures may be corrupted by it; the worst men and the worst women are the most immersed in its profligate gratifications: it comforts them for the internal absence

sence of amiable dispositions; it seems to deceive the public; it atones for concealed sufferings, from the negligence or contempt of real wisdom and goodness.---As injuries of serious importance may be effected by spurious qualities of the nature I have described, I hope you will not think you have been misemployed, while I have directed your attention, in the education of your families, to the genuine dispositions of civility, complaisance, and politeness.

LECTURE

LECTURE LII.

RELIGION.

τὴν μὲν οὖν ποιητὴν καὶ πατέρα τοῦδε τοῦ παντὸς εὑρεῖν τε ἔργον, καὶ εὑρόντα εἰς πάντας ἀδύνατον λέγειν. PLAT. in Tim.

IN a state of general effervescence, when the spirit of curiosity is impelled by strong passions, the aid of religion is thought requisite: and some ideas of religion are unavoidable.

On this subject I am not usually left to my judgment: an opinion prevailing, that I must be averse to religious principles, the female interest of families is exerted in precautions against my influence.

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I can allow for prepossession, or any thing analogous to principle; but I abhor profligacy. If the women are superstitious, the men are unprincipled: while the mother is anxious the child be not contaminated with philosophy, the father wishes religion to be formed into a convenient dress, to be put on or off at the pleasure of the wearer. It is my misfortune, in common with thousands, to disbelieve pretensions to Divine communications which have popular sanctions. I call it a misfortune, because in the present condition of society, it is attended with inconveniences; and whatever may be alleged of the motives to free-thinking, they do not generally furnish compensations for its disadvantages or injuries. Hence the contradictory phenomena of the moral world; where knowledge is gradually dissipating prejudice; without affecting the forms of religion, or diminishing the number of its votaries.

The experiment I made on the subject, at some expence to the peace of my mind, and the convenience of my fortune, has furnished information which cannot be obtained

ed by every enquirer; and the result is, if establishments were demolished, every thing wearing at this time the form of religion, would be extinguished. You will perceive I do not allege the fact as an argument for establishments: they form the great asylum of unprincipled hypocrisy. The general murmur of good will attending the first intimation of my design, expressed the wishes of thousands; but they ventured not beyond a wish: and many of those who flew to the standard of liberty, before they had estimated the inconvenience, have attoned for the imprudence, by an humiliating species of recantation; or sunk into the ranks of superstition, with precautionary accumulations of insincerity. Religion shelters infidels in disguise: it is the fortune of incautious sincerity, or improvident rashness to be branded with the unequivocal marks of irreligion.

No man, believing the admirable provisions of nature to be superceded by those of revelation, will treat it with contempt, or even habitual negligence; yet contempt of religion is the disposition, not of profes-

sed

sed free-thinkers, for they are actuated by a different sentiment; it is the general disposition of the time: no persons ridicule it so frequently, or with so much pleasure, as those who save appearances respecting it with the multitude, or who are supported in ease and affluence by its emoluments.

The pretensions of Divine messengers are not, to me, matters of light discourse.---- They are, in my sincere apprehension, among the most fruitful and pernicious sources of imposture or oppression; they check industry by the support of opulent classes, constitutionally allied to illegitimate power; and they produce greater evils in human societies, than any other causes in my knowledge. If I ever refer to them; it is not with trivial ribaldry, but with serious concern, or indignant abhorrence. I am not, however, the apostle of irreligion. The baneful tree has struck its roots too deeply for my strength. I would not encounter the monsters that guard it, to tear off a branch, or to scatter a few of its leaves.

Persons having recourse to me, in education, have therefore nothing to apprehend respecting

respecting any species of superstition. I am not so nearly verging on insanity, as to imagine I can suppress it: feeble or ineffectual attempts might strengthen interests which I would wish to destroy; and the subject is not of a complexion for jocular references. While I scorn the affectation of sentiments I disapprove; I can respect sincerity, even in pernicious prejudices: and I avoid all discussion of opinions denominated religious. This conduct is so consonant to my inclinations; it is become a habit of so easy a nature, that families who have been many years connected with me in education, suppose me a clergyman in the full exercise or practice of customary duties; and frequently wish me to perform such occasional offices as might give them opportunities of pecuniary compliments.

'But you have acted otherwise. And 'the opinion, that you are assiduous, on 'every occasion, to lessen the credit of reli-'gion, is the general objection to your un-'dertakings?'

I will explain the matter; with a view to the objection.

No

No proposition can be incontrovertible, if the following be not---moral philosophy, to be useful as any other science, should be as free; its principles deduced from experience, not from authority: liberal and informed minds have generally been convinced of the truth; and the conviction operated in various methods for the advantage of society. The respect they impressed on their acquaintance; the influence of their conversation or writings, were favourable to the interests of mankind. But moral philosophers remained in a species of obscurity; sometimes deeply clouded by scorn or contempt. It seemed to me an enterprize of some merit, to seize an advantageous spot, left unguarded by superstitious despotism; where the cruelties or injuries of exhausted phrenzy had produced a suspension of hostilities, called toleration. The ground was untrodden; it had its inconveniences; perhaps its dangers. The little interest or address, in my power, could not induce one man to accompany me; and I first occupied the post alone.

Whether a measure, which may have some

effect,

effect, in continuing the alliance of morality and religion, can be justified; may be matter of future consideration. My present concern is, to dispel the obscurities of ignorance or misapprehension. The injuries of malignity I will, if possible, contemptuously avoid; if not, I will endeavour to repel them. I speak before persons who have attended every step in the undertaking; whose judgment I esteem more than any thing assuming the form or consequence of public opinion.

In opening the chapel in Margaret-street, it was my object to claim for moral philosophy, the toleration allowed the extravagancies of gloomy enthusiasm, or the dogmas of ferocious sedition. Others had dared to think or write with freedom; but none had placed morality at the side of superstition, by publicly teaching its doctrines.

This object may not be out of my view; whatever be the fluctuations of the society formed by the notice of my intention. I speak to the knowledge of this audience, that I have neglected obvious interests, and broken valuable friendships, to avoid the

empiricism of a sectary; to adhere scrupulously to a design, which I may yet see acknowledged in its utmost importance.

Of all the sciences, moral philosophy is the most conducive to the great interests or happiness of mankind: my highest ambition, is to afford some assistance, in producing a condition of society, where it may be unembarrassed by authority, and taught in the manner of algebra or geometry. If merchants could obtain powers to enjoin the calculations of arithmetic by pretended revelations, or to settle accompts by Divine authority; what injustice, what iniquity would ensue? Why should priests have the privilege in morals? Because the imposture is more lucrative; or the injuries more complicated or detestable? No event, in my knowledge or imagination, would be attended with benefits so numerous, so useful to human society, as the emancipation of this science: and the crime for which I am arraigned, or the objection to my utility on all occasions, is an attempt to form an institution in its favor; to rescue it from the dishonor of being retailed or forced on the people

people, after being tainted with the venom of superstition and fanaticism.

'But if you respect not the pretensions 'of persons calling themselves divine, you 'should submit to the laws of the state?'---

The friends of humanity and reason, have forced from bigotry the equivocal acknowledgement, 'that the thoughts of men 'should be free.'---I call it equivocal, because it is disputed, and denied in its consequences or effects; and words, writings, and disquisitions are cognizable by power. In the laws restraining the overt acts of liberty, moral philosophy was not included, because it was not supposed, any man would have the hardiness, to wrest it from the control of the church. That advantage I endeavored to improve. I did not dispute the authenticity of any revelation, or the power of any church: but under a conviction that morality is the most useful of the sciences; perceiving, by the laws and customs of the country, it might be either blended with the dogmas of superstition and enjoined as matter of faith, or separated and taught on distinct and rational principles

of persuasion, I thought it my duty to try the latter method. In that enterprize, it was erroneously imagined I violated the laws; and I have reasons to think, the violation would have been instantly punished: but I was sheltered by usages or provisions, not intended for my accommodation.

I may be charged with inconsistency in the design; having often considered lectures or sermons as injudicious modes of forming principles. They are customary modes, on subjects interesting to the community: and it may imply reproach or degradation, if moral philosophy should be refused the privilege.

Maxims publicly taught may be gradually insinuated into the laws, manners, or characters of nations. We are informed, some peculiar advantages of the Chinese government are owing to the public encouragement of the study of morality, and the custom of advancing into civil offices, men of letters, who govern by instructing the people. A court of justice is represented as a lecture-room, where the mandarin sustains the amiable character of moral instructor,

structor, and renders punishment, which is uncommon, the occasion of interesting and profitable lessons.

'But under pretences of preaching the 'will of God, and teaching the duties of re-'ligion, seditious views and measures have 'been promoted,'---No doubt. Views so denominated, have been promoted by mathematics and astronomy. All the laws relating to toleration, or to the avowal of opinions, even in England, are reproachful to reason and humanity.

Among boasted improvements in science, we have not admitted the obvious, indisputable truth,---that principles are doubted or disbelieved, when not submitted without scruple to examination and enquiry. Truths have been discarded on account of absurd precautions respecting their examination; as the Elements of Euclid, would be contemned or abhorred, if studied under formidable restrictions, or enjoined as necessary to salvation.

Mental bondages or shackles of this description, have been torn away; and persons committing the useful, though illegal

violence, have been honored and applauded. I will not enter on the doctrine of commendable sedition. I profess and practise obedience to the laws of the land: but where barbarous customs are wearing out; where sanguinary statutes are crumbling into dust, I am happy in giving my assistance to wipe them away. Common law is defined common sense; and common sense at this time, is different from that of the days of Henry VIII. or Queen Mary. There are laws on the statute books, respecting the government of opinions, which no magistrate would dare to execute, if any magistrate were sufficiently depraved to attempt it. This is a tacit concession, on the part of power, it would be cowardice not to improve.---But reading lectures on moral philosophy cannot be criminal, even by those laws, if morality be separated from religion.--

The conveniences and inconveniences of this separation, formed questions, which I found difficult to resolve, to the satisfaction of my own mind.

If my opinion were honored with the slightest notice, in constructing or amending political

political arrangements, for a society tinctured with superstition, I would ardently advise, that ceremonies bearing the denominations of religion be subservient to morality; open to discussion, and removeable at the choice of every parish or congregation. In wise periods of antiquity, they were separated. The Eastern missionaries report, the superstition of the lower orders of the people in China, is a distinct system of mechanical practice; and has no influence on the morality which regulates the transactions or manners of the emperor and the nobility. The philosophers and politicians of European nations, leave to the people, the superstition of prevailing religions; but occasionally affect to be actuated by it. The common people, fixed in superstitious habits, no means are supposed deviseable to remove those habits, without risquing the dissolution of government, or the confusion of general anarchy.

But these suppositions have been generally offered by statesmen, or the clergy; and their judgment may be suspected, from an interest in popular ignorance.---The lower orders of the people, have been informed with great advantage, on subjects deemed

arduous or abstruse. Observe the construction of a hovel in an Irish ditch, and that of a house in London; both built by the same order of men; and you will hardly dispute the truth for which I contend. Knowledge, like water, is perpetually seeking its level, or diffusing its influence for general benefit. Selfishness, with pretences of prudence or utility, is forming reservoirs, and appropriating disproportionate quantities for its own use. That science and information, which are the only means of happiness, should be deemed injurious; or that certain classes should be proscribed and forbidden the use of them---must be referred to the spirit of despotism or interested cruelty, which would plunge the wretched into dungeons, and refuse them light because its first effect might give pain.

We do not find men discard the restraints of order or good government as they advance in knowledge: they may discard oppression; and oppressors only are interested in the ignorance or superstition of the people.

But the question may be considered in another view. In modern times religion has been distinguished from superstition.

Some

Some of its principles and doctrines have had a reference to the universal cause of all order, power, and enjoyment. As the first, perhaps the necessary tendency of the human mind, is to trace events to their causes, it is not wonderful, an opinion of an universal cause should ever have prevailed; or that the opinion should have given rise to systems, various and fanciful as the faculties of the inventors. This appears to me, a propensity in nature, which no condition of it can change; which may be the general principle of our knowledge and happiness: and I cannot help imagining it will ever lead men to connect moral as well as natural philosophy, with that religion which consists in the admiration of an universal cause.

It is on this ground I have committed offence; by considering it as the only point of union for religion and moral philosophy. The impertinence of vulgar atheism, is similar to that of a worm contemning the system of Newton. The being of God may be incomprehensible; but it cannot be denied, because it cannot be pronounced impossible.

Whether

Whether a subject of such difficulty, so liable to be misunderstood or misapplied, should be held as much as possible out of sight; and men induced to confine their faculties to causes and principles within their reach: or the impetuosity of the human imagination be such, as to render precautions of the kind useless: these are questions, on which it must be venial to err; for they have perplexed the highest and most cultivated understandings.

There may be reasons against referring to the abilities, characters, or motives of those persons in England, who approved of the undertaking, or contributed to its support. There can be none against producing the opinions of foreigners, which could not have been influenced by me.

When the Liturgy on the general Principles of Religion and Morality had been compiled and printed, I sent copies to those persons, of whom I entertained the highest opinion: and the following Letters are specimens of the correspondence that ensued.

CORRESPONDENCE.

From the late KING *of* PRUSSIA.

Mr. le Chevalier WILLIAMS,

Je viens de recevoir à la suite de votre lettre du 20. du mois de May dernier, l'ouvrage, que des sentiments de liberté & de conviction, vous ont fait donner au public, sous le titre d'Essai de Liturgie. Votre attention dans cet envoy me fait plaisir, & c'est pour vous en temoigner mes remerciments, que je vous fais la presente; priant Dieu en même tems sur ce qu'il vous ait Mr. le Chevalier Williams, en sa sainte & digne garde.

à Potsdam,
le 10. d'Aout, 1776.

FREDERIC.

Letter from Mr. DE CATT, *Secretaire des Commandemens de S. M. Prussienne, Potsdam.*

MONSIEUR,

Voici la reponse de S. M. à votre lettre, elle à ete sensible à votre attention obligeante, avec le but que vous vous etes proposé

proposé et que vous aves rempli dans votre ouvrage. Vous pouvies bien compter sur son aprobation. Il ma toujours paru qu'il n'y avoit qu'apresenter la vertu toute simple et naturelle pour la rendre aimable au bon sens. Il est vrai que le bon sens où le sens commun, est ce qu'il y a peut etre de moins commun; je m'interesse fort à vos succes, Monsieur---ils concernent trop le bonheur des hommes pour ne pas les desirer: à la marche que vous suivér, je vois quils le sont bientôt realises; vous m'obligeres infiniment, si vous voules les m'aprendre. Je joins ici un petit mot pour le bon philosophe dont je n'ai point eu de lettres.

J'ai l'honneur d'etre avec l'estime la plus distinguès,

MONSIEUR,

Votre tres humble,

et tres obeissant Serviteur,

Potsdam, ce 10. Aout, 1776.

DE CATT.

Letter

Letter from Mr. DE CATT.

MONSIEUR,

Votre lettre du 28 Fevrier ne m'est parvenüe que sur la fin de May. Je vous dis cela, Monsieur, pourque vous ne croyes point qu'il y ait de ma faute si je ne repons qu'a present á tout ce que vous me dites d'obligeant. Soyes assuré de tout le plaisir que j'aurai d'entretenir une correspondance avec un homme qui pense et qui ecrit aussi bien que vous le faites. Vos reflexions sont tres justes et d'un grand penseur. Aussi n'ai-je pù resister au plaisir d'en faire la lecture, et puis, il y avoit des choses si bien exprimées que je n'ai pas voulu qu'elles fussent ignores de celui qu'elles concernoient, elles ont interessè je vous assure.

Je vous demande en grace, Monsieur, de me comuniquer tout ce qui sortira de votre plume. Ou devient fort avec ceux qui pensent fortement, ou s'anime de leurs idées et de leur façon de les rendre. Juges donc, Monsieur, qu'elle obligations mon intelligence aura à la votre.

Dans

Dans tous les etats de la vie ou ne va pas loin sans principes. Si dans les affaires de gouvernement, on s'imagine qu'on peut s'en passer, on sera tot ou tard desabusé cruellement. De toutes les occupations qui m'interessent, la votre, Monsieur, me parut la plus touchante. On la dit, et cela est vrai, on voit plus d'etats perir en violant les moeurs, qu'en violant les loix.

En me recomandant à votre souvenir, je vous prie d'agreer l'estime parfaite avec laqu'elle j'ai l'honneur d'etre.

MONSIEUR,

Votre tres humble,

et tres obeissant Serviteur,

Potsdam,
ce 21 Juin, 1777. DE CATT.

Mr. ---- m'interesse, je ne negligerai pas son affaire.

Letter from M. de VOLTAIRE.

SIR, *Ferney,* 3d *Feb.* 1776.

Returning home from mineral waters, I find the precious book you honour me with.

with. I have perused it with the pleasure that a Rosucrucian would enjoy in reading the work of an adept. It is a great comfort to me, at the age of eighty-two years, to see the tolerance openly teach'd in your country, and the God of all mankind no more pent up in a narrow tract of land. That noble truth was worthy of your pen and of your tongue.

I am with all my heart one of your followers, and of your admirers; and with much respect,

Your most humble
obedient Servant,
VOLTAIRE.

Letter from M. TELLER, *an eminent and learned Divine at Berlin.*

REVEREND SIR,

I have just now received your Liturgy, which you have pleased to present me; and I thank you for it in the most obliged manner. I was already, by way of the Newspapers, informed of your purpose to establish

blish a worship for universal believers of the Deity; and I am very glad to see this now performed, and the external form of devotion, according to your intention, very well executed. For it cannot be denied, that the belief of the one Supreme Being, and the study of universal benevolence, are the most important articles of the well-understanded Christian religion itself.

But I am now very desirous to know, what approbation your worship has found in the public.

I send you, by this occasion, a specimen of like form of worship proposed by Mr. Basedow, at Dessau, in the Principality of Anhalt. I wish that it may have your approbation, and that all your endeavours for promoting a reasonable religion may succeed. I am, with great esteem,

Your most humble

and obedient Servant,

Berlin, Jul. 29, 1776. TELLER.

Note

Note from Mr. RASPE, *a German Philosopher in London.*

Mr. BODE, at Hamburgh, writes to me under the 30th of August:

'I congratulate you on the good reception of your account of the German volcanos. I gave the copy which you sent me, to Mr. Brydone, whom I met at Leipzig. It was an agreeable present to him. You must send me another copy. My hearty compliments to your good-natured and benevolent Samaritan Williams; and my thanks for his Liturgy. His name shall be known in Germany, and meet with that justice in our papers, which his public spirit deserves. Basedow is expected here in a few days; and then more for you and Williams.'

Give me leave to add to this, what Mr. De Catt wrote me from Potsdam, under the 10th August.

'Vous voila donc avec ces *braves Anglais*, & en connoissance avec Mr. Williams, qui par ce qu'il dit dans ses lettres & par ce

'qu'il ecrit dans son ouvrage merite l'attachement & l'estime de ceux qui savent bien penser & bien ecrire.'

Yours

Monday, 16 Aug. 1776. R. RASPE.

I could produce numerous testimonies of this nature, to balance a supposed unpopularity, or a disposition to obstruct my utility.

But the unpopularity, I suspect to be imaginary. Though the operations of a disease, frequently pronounced mortal, gave the appearance of indecision or caprice to my undertakings for many years---I have never returned to business without considerable encouragement; I have had liberal offers to engage in literary plans, the most successful of the time; and have not been unnoticed by the instruments of political power. The employment I have chosen, principally for the independence it procures, has been, and probably will be, attended with sufficient emolument; not only to supply my personal wants, but to answer the reasonable expectations of those who look up to me; and

to

to gratify a habit of long duration, that of multiplying to others the few obligations which I sometimes cannot escape.

In these circumstances, you will not think me insolent, if I request you to dismiss all concern on the subject---as I sincerely wish every man, who may be suspicious or apprehensive, from the nature of my principles, would pass my house rather than enter it.--- And this, I mean to render a public notification.

LECTURE LIII.

DEVOTION.

L'ensemble de tous les êtres; & le resultat de toutes les forces. PREF. COLL ACAD.

THE pleasure and advantage of devotion, are among the most powerful motives to study nature, or to understand her operations and laws.

Mr. Hume has observed, 'Philosophic devotion, like the enthusiasm of a poet, is the 'transitory effect of high spirits, great leisure, a fine genius, and a habit of study 'and contemplation; but notwithstanding 'all these circumstances, an abstracted invisible object, like that which natural religion alone presents to us, cannot long 'actuate the mind, or be of any moment in 'life.

'life. To render the passion of continu-
'ance, we must find some method of affect-
'ing the senses and imagination, and must
'embrace some historical as well as philoso-
'phical accounts of the Divinity. Popular
'superstitions and observances are even
'found to be of use in this particular.'*

Mr. Hume speaks the general language of scepticism on the subject; but he understands not the nature of devotion.

It is the sentiment excited by the phenomena of nature; frequently vibrating from effects to causes, sometimes to a general cause; combining inevitably with the conviction of convenience or utility, it forms the general motive to all human invention; and it is the certain and permanent instrument of all human enjoyment. Lord Bacon, who saw further into the subject than Mr. Hume, thought, 'By finding the laws of 'nature, and her ways of producing effects, 'men were enabled, as far as their condi-'tion allows, to use the same, as rules of 'practice.'

'The sentiments of admiration and rever-

* Hume's Sceptic.

ence, passing through intermediate orders into a general or central cause, acquire force, as permanent principles of action. But passions, being always susceptible of enthusiasm; and fond of personifying all their objects; the general cause is embodied; and 'the majesty of darkness encircling his throne,' affords opportunities of subjoining attributes at pleasure. At the first definition of a general cause, error commenced its destructive operations: violent opposition of sentiments and interests arose between the votaries of materialism and immaterialism. They agreed, however, in the attributes of the general cause, whether embodied or unembodied; those attributes were selected from human properties; as Apelles selected the features of Minerva from celebrated beauties of Greece. The genuine sentiment of devotion remained; its influence or operation can never be remitted: but passions being superinduced; and having for their objects these material or immaterial personifications, appropriated the province of devotion, and left the original sentiment without a name.

Previous to the religion of the Jews, a system of superstitious symbols had prevailed, particularly in Egypt. Epiphanius places the Scythian before the Hebrew religion. He says the former commenced with Noah; the latter with Abraham. Where Hebraism has not prevailed, we find the effect of symbols. The object of the Hebrew religion, was the unity of God; ineffable and invisible. God was not to be represented; nothing could be emblematic of him; no created object could resemble him. The acts of his power were indefinite, and could not be personified.

That religion, originally pure and sublime, was directed against superstitions; the traces of which we find in Oriental, Egyptian, and Grecian history.

The supreme principle seems to have been universally acknowledged; and emblamatized by fire: but being invisible, and his existence being supposed to have preceded light, is denominated the primitive darkness. In that darkness, his power, his intelligence, and his love, produced all things.

Νυξ γενεσις παντων. Orph.

Night the mother of all.

His power or virtue, under various appellations analogous to those of son or child, produced the material world; and his breath, called his spirit or his love, generated vivifying animals. These metaphysical beings personified, became objects of adoration.—Power was represented by a bull; whose adoration the Jews could with difficulty prevent, by the delusive idea of another mediator. It was called Theo, or Tho. The Orientalists, the Egyptians, and the Greeks humanized him into Brahma, Osiris, and Bacchus: and the privileges of these deities have been assumed by the founders of modern religions. Those symbolical beings were of both sexes; and their properties were never transferred by the taste and judgment of antiquity to men actually existing. Venus is the female part of these generative deities; and she has both sexes, as Liber Pater & Libera, Osiris & Isis. She is accurately delineated by Lucretius. Her attitude in the works of celebrated artists,

tists, is always chaste; and she is represented as the mother of all, without ceasing to be a virgin.

It is in the management of these symbols, that superstition has multiplied gods. The god Vichenou, during a repose of a thousand years preceding the creation, has for his companions, Power represented by a bull, and Wisdom by an elephant. According to the Bramins (Voy aux Indes, t. i, p. 314) Chiven, or the Supreme Being, which others call Vichenou, is the only God Almighty: and he is represented by three images; to whom is given the appellation of Trimounts, synonimous to Trinity: for it implies the union of three persons; by the first of which all things are created, by the second all are preserved, and by the third all are destroyed. Jupiter is represented with three eyes; and Bacchus as three times born—man, woman, and hermaphrodite. How far modern religions have improved on this method of personifying the Divine Energies, I will not presume to determine. While other votaries are disputing their fundamental dogmas, I only claim a right

right which power, imposture, and avarice may suspend, but cannot alienate; that of forming and expressing my opinion. It does not seem an improvement to substitute persons for emblems; and if the Jewish legislator was commendable for abolishing symbols, which might have accurate and beautiful effects in poetry---Theists are amply justified in rejecting all grosser and more improbable pretensions of participating the Divine nature.

When I introduced a Liturgy on the general principles of religion and morality, I had not divested myself of the error concerning the personification, and social attributes of the universal cause; and on relinquishing it, some of my hearers charged me with Atheism. I am not apt to be affected by the terms of reproach with which ignorance or intolerance would guard its usurpations. But when I affirm the attributes of Deity cannot be similar or even analogous to those of men, I do not adopt the language of Atheism concerning necessity or chance, which I consider as jargon, the produce of depraved taste, and derogating

ing from those principles by which the universe is actuated.

But while it be impossible the Deity should be 'such a one as ourselves,' or have qualities of goodness, justice, mercy, or even wisdom similar to those produced in us by human societies; it does not follow that we stand in no relation to him. Every effect has a reference to its cause; men produced by the powers of nature, are included in the general system, to whose actuating principle all its parts must have relation. Is it natural or possible that beings, finding existence a blessing, should reflect on its author without grateful pleasure; that observing all things around them interchanging acts of benefit by the influence of general laws; that, by exact, uninterrupted revolutions, stones are converted into soil, vegetables, fishes, animals, men; and into stones again; that these invariable, universal processes, produce, through all nature, life, action, and enjoyment: is it possible such conceptions should be unattended with sentiment or passion? We may be inaccurate in denominating it piety, or devotion,

or

or religion; it is supreme among human enjoyments; it has nature, or the God of nature for its object. In this sense, I adore the Deity as my first duty; as the most refined and most exalted pleasure.

Though I respect a single sentence from Mr. Hume more than volumes from the mercenaries of lucrative systems, or the servile instruments of popular prejudices, I do not agree with him, that the sentiment of devotion is only of momentary influence, or that it has no effect on the conduct of life. All exquisite enjoyments are of short duration, but of permanent influence. The sentiments of actual pleasure in friendship or in love are transient; their influence or effect is perpetual and irresistible. While I allow philosophical devotion may be the effect of fine genius and a habit of study or contemplation; I maintain, even against the opinion of Mr. Hume, no passion or principle of which we are susceptible, can so powerfully actuate the mind, or be of so much importance in life.

We generally see the principle in disguise; and if powerful or formidable in its adulterations,

rations, what effects might be expected from the true or genuine sentiment? On this spot, persons calling themselves philosophers generally divide; as men do in common life on love; honesty, or friendship.—In these cases, the price of what is genuine is high; that of the adulterated moderate. We are not to wonder, if the votaries of integrity be few, those of devotion should not be numerous: if common passions, requiring few ingredients, be relinquished by multitudes or by nations, from the difficulties of obtaining them genuine; that a principle requiring all the ingredients which the mind of man can furnish, should be relinquished by the common herd of pretended philosophers.

Persons assuming philosophic denominations, do not act with the prudence we observe in common life; where, on being denied what is genuine, we are assiduous to detect or to obviate the consequences of adulteration. Because pure unspotted integrity may be unusual or impracticable, we do not resolve to renounce all regard to it; or to exterminate all natural passions, because

they

they are generally perverted: yet in devotion this is the case with those who affect to be above the vulgar; because they cannot touch the point of intellectual pleasure, arising from a mind perfectly harmonized to the works of nature, they sink through all intermediate gradations, into those solitary, sometimes contemptible beings, which we find in all societies under the denomination of Free-thinkers.

The spot where truth and error divide, is that which I have ever endeavoured to mark, since serious subjects obtained my attention; and with such disregard to personal convenience or interest, that my sincerity will not be questioned by any person competent to a judgment of it. Men generally argue from analogies in effects to analogies in causes; aided by human vanity, they attribute to Deity the perfections of wisdom, goodness, and mercy, so useful or amiable in human characters. Adopting these errors, we become worshippers of a phantom, with human attributes; avoiding them, we generally sink into Atheism. As nothing can be of more importance to the

mind

mind in its most exalted improvements of knowledge or goodness; nothing has been to me so difficult, or required efforts so vigorous and permanent, as to hold the understanding and affections on this pinnacle of excellence; or to move in so elevated a situation between the approaching confines of atheism and superstition. The region is tremendous, because it is almost solitary; the shades only of a few philosophers, of ancient and modern times, are the spirits which hover around it. When this region is peopled from the provinces of real knowledge; then, and not till then, will religion, virtue, and a natural or beneficial policy take place among men.

But this not being the case; no society being in the exercise of philosophic religion; it is to be considered whether we are to renounce devotion; drop as detached beings into the associations of other men; be regarded as intruders, become useless, contemptible; or act as we do in respect to integrity, associate with the least exceptionable, and assist their advances towards excellence or perfection. It was on principles of

that

that nature I acted in publicly introducing the Liturgy, which has furnished objections to my utility in education. I should never have relinquished it from deference to such objections. The inconveniences which first influenced my determinations, at the time pronounced irretrievable, were numerous, from the interruptions of my own health; from the difficulty of frequently assembling new congregations on my returns to town from journies or excursions to save my life; from the habit of disputation which many of the society had contracted in their religious education; and the accumulation of debts on the finances of the society, for which I was deemed responsible, though I read the lectures and performed the services without compensation. At the commencement of the undertaking, I had just relinquished professional habits of superstition; my disposition to enquiry was languid or desultory: it is not wonderful therefore, in preparing a public service I should retain complimentary epithets, borrowed from human qualities, and annexed to the idea of Deity.

It

It is impossible man should know more of the universal cause, than that it impels or produces all principles: attempts to ascribe tributes, or to adorn it with epithets, are to be considered as ridiculous rather than criminal. The contemplation of principles in the general works of nature; the enumeration of them in a public service, without the admixture of adulatory absurdities, appears not only practicable, but highly useful, and even necessary to persons habituated to connect morals with forms of religion. Such arranged enumerations, though of subjects generally deemed philosophical, would be easily comprehended by all orders of the people; whose oppressions or miseries are aggravated, under every form of government, by the mysteries and dogmas of incomprehensible religions.---The most simple and ignorant peasant, is equally informed with Socrates, on the first principle of public devotion. 'What the deity is, said the 'Grecian sage, I know not; what he is not 'I know.'* The jewish and christian scrip-

* Plat. Phæd.

ture, even in the act of personifying God, declares 'his pavilion round about were dark 'waters and thick clouds of the sky; and 'that darkness was under his feet.' Ceremonies for obtaining his favor; importunities for changing his purposes, would cease to be articles of oppressive imposition, on the credulity or industry of the people. All men are capable of expressing sentiments of modest ignorance, on the most sublime, the most difficult of all subjects; they would perceive the points of embarrassment, if touched with perspicuity or truth; and comprehend the reasons for confining our faculties within the sphere of real utility.

As my last effort in this species of composition, I have been inclined to compose a specimen of such public service; and if I succeed tolerably even in my own opinion, I shall prove myself incorrigible by reproach, calumny or defamation, and produce it to the world.

My constitution will not admit of another public contest, I would otherwise introduce it. I think no duty I can discharge so important

portant, as pressing upon or enlarging the limits of intellectual liberty.

I know the fortresses of superstition and intolerance; the discipline and strength of their mercenaries. I could pass their lines with safety and advantage, if my health would correspond with my inclination.

The utility of such a public service; were it only to claim the rights of opinion on their utmost boundaries; would be an honorable motive to the exertion of any talents. But the number of persons in England, who understand the subject, is not so great as I formerly apprehended. The pursuit of science, on an extended plan, into all its effects or consequences, is so far from being tolerated in England, that it is punished in various modes. Prudent persons avoid the disadvantage; direct their talents into practicable channels; and philosophy becomes a trade. The professors of it, are as destitute of generous or public views; as contracted and mercenary, as the lowest mechanics. Sciences, like the arts which furnish toy-shops, exist without any other effect than temporary entertainment; while

public principles are languishing or disappearing. Dealers in scientific legerdemain, exhibitors of philosophical amusements, feel not the importance of intellectual liberty; they have no idea of pursuing any thing, not allowed, fashionable, or saleable.—I speak these sentiments, not from random or slight observation, but from an attentive and accurate survey of those regions whence the materials of my undertaking must be drawn. Curiosity led numbers to attend my first attempt; and curiosity detained some during the continuance of the public lectures. Their object was a new species of gratification: it would not have been in my power to perpetuate that novelty; they would therefore have returned into the habits, from which the enterprize had invited them.

By publicly asserting or exercising the right of separating morality from the dogmas of particular religions, a lodgment was made on the strongest, the most important works of intolerance or intellectual tyranny. Millions have wished its accomplishment; but no man would risque the danger. I risqued it alone, and unsupported. Those who followed,

lowed, came or returned in safety and at pleasure; curious to view the acquisition, but generally insensible of its importance. That importance may not be understood, until attempts be made to recover it; probably at the expence of blood. The utility of speaking or writing, is certainly considerable; but that of an institution for the purpose of moral enquiry and instruction, on the principles of unlimited freedom, would be an advantage to knowledge and virtue, not easily estimated.

These are the objects which induced my undertaking. I am so far from wishing my friends to cover it with caution and regret, that I point it out as the very circumstance which may honorably distinguish my life, and make me lie down in my grave with the consciousness of some effort for the interest of society.

The misapprehensions of folly, or the misrepresentations of malignity, I hear with transitory emotions, sometimes of impatience, sometimes of unconcern, sometimes of contempt. If my passion had been money or honors at the pleasure of princes, I should

not have been led into enterprizes of this nature. Mistakes and obloquies, which only affect such interests, are not likely to affect my mind, or to alter my conduct. Persons, therefore, who would transfer their prejudices on this subject, to my utility in directing the education of youth, are very welcome to avoid me. I have stated the facts of my undertaking, the fixed principles and purposes of my mind, that they may understand the dangers supposed to surround me.---I can affirm, however, with the same sincerity which has dictated this representation, I never utter a sentence, or have recourse to a measure in education, to induce pupils to adopt my religious opinions; that they are, in general, perfectly ignorant of them; and suppose me occupied by the regular exercise of the duties of my profession.

LECTURE LIV.

INTELLECTUAL REFORMATION.

THE preceding Lecture will be considered by some persons, as implying a profession of faith; in imitation of the Savoyard, in Rousseau's Emile. I should hardly imitate, what I do not approve. The introduction of the Savoyard's religion is unnecessary, or forced; his profession is dictated by spleen against the materialists; and in education, it cannot be useful either to the tutor or the pupil.—All professions, by the parent or governor, should be avoided; if it be meant, young people should exercise any degree of judgment or integrity in religion. If it be only matter of convenience; if secret infidelity be cherished: the

advantage of particular institutions and forms should be stated early, in order to render the habits of the pupil conducive to his interest.

I know no persons, so destitute of principle, as those who seek their fortunes by religion.---I will not intentionally contribute to the propagation of a class so detestable; however it be covered with the veil of decorum, or sanctimonious reputation. I should reproach myself as dishonest, in betraying to a pupil any biass on religious enquiries; and I always lay open the foundations of religious and political systems, as fully as history will allow. Parents betray doubt or disbelief of the authenticity of particular modes, by wishing children may be prepossessed in their favor; and the priests of particular churches, who, in my knowledge and information, generally disbelieve their doctrines, are anxious to impose them by authority, or to preclude the discussions of reason.---It is no part of my business to promote such views; and it is not my inclination.

But

'But it may be, to promote scepticism or 'infidelity.'—If it be, it must be without consciousness, or knowledge. I have not the slightest interest to serve, not the most feeble passion to gratify, by inducing a young man to prefer one religion to another; and to promote the interests of scepticism or infidelity, no mode can be devised of equal efficacy with our present education. Youth are matriculated in the universities, by formal acts; which, in civil occurrences, would subject them to ignominy or punishment. Every thing relating to religion is calculated to produce interested acquiescence; to secure a radical disbelief. It is not wonderful, therefore, when wine or confidence opens the heart, we seldom find a man who believes his religion: but it is horrible, that multitudes should be daily forced into the worst species of infidelity, by servile acquiescence, or profligate perjury.—Hence the inefficacy of those principles of established religions, which have a tendency to public advantage; not from the counteraction or profession of infidelity. The mode of selecting the friends of sacred establishments,

ments, is the most injudicious imaginable. The man whose mind hesitates, whose conscience discriminates, may be erroneous, but he may be honest and valuable; the compliant subscriber, whose assent or oath are ever guided by interest, is at heart a villain, whatever may be the speciousness or decorum of his appearance. Viewing as I do, the progress of infidelity, and the means of its propagation, I can have no solicitude to afford it my assistance.

I am convinced, profitable and powerful impostures will sooner be demolished by their own operations, than by feeble attempts on them. I am content, therefore, with opening the instructions of universal history to my pupils; and tracing the pretensions of all sacred systems to their origin.

I should have no difficulties in this method, if the friends of some of them had not thought the introduction of religion important; and insisted on a general examination of the principal questions respecting revelation. The nature of historical evidence was supposed to be clearly ascertained by Rousseau;

seau; who wished to be deemed a Christian, from sentiment, not from rational conviction.

The probability of miracles; the resources of repentance; and the importance of the doctrine of a future state, were subjects I was not permitted to pass over.

Without degrading the mind of the pupil into profligate or interested servility, he must be left to compare the similar or different evidences with which ancient and modern miracles are accompanied. Semiramis is said to have been nourished by birds, and to have changed her sex. Starlings, parrots, and magpies, proclaimed the divinity of Psapho; and their testimony was considered as supernatural. Serpents were taught by priests to lie under funeral coverings, and to come out on certain signals. Zoroaster had his law from Oromases, Trismegistus from Mercury, Zamolxis from Vesta, Charondas from Saturn, Minos from Jupiter, Lycurgus from Apollo, Draco and Solon from Minerva, Numa from Egeria, Moses and Christ from Jehovah, and Mahomet from the angel Gabriel.

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The birth and death of illustrious men in all periods of ignorance and superstition have been distinguished by similar miracles. Cyrus was exposed by Harpagus and suckled by a bitch. The founder of Rome by a wolf. Alexander prevailed on nations to believe Jupiter had been intimate with his mother Olympias. Romulus, though probably suffocated in a marsh, was proclaimed by the senate and believed by the Roman people, to have ascended to Heaven and assumed the nature of a god---Apollo appeared to Perictione, the mother of Plato, in a dream; and by that dream she conceived. Speusippus, Clearchus, Anaxilides, Plutarch, Suidas, &c. affirm this, as the current opinion in Athens. St. Hierom saith, Plato was supposed to have been born of a virgin. Laertius reports it as the Athenian tradition, that Phœbus was the father of Esculapius and Plato, one to cure bodies, the other to cure souls.---The birth of Pythagoras was equally distinguished, and his life a series of miracles, which are recorded by Plutarch, Laertius, Pliny, Porphyry, and Jamlichus. One of his thighs

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was of solid gold; he shewed it to the initiated, to prove he was the god Apollo.

His disciples never named him; while he lived, they called him Divine; after death, the Man. The Daunian bear, by his command, never injured a living creature. He whispered an ox at Tarentum never to eat beans, and the animal obeyed. At the Olympic games, in the presence of all Greece, he commanded a flying eagle to descend; and stroking it with his hand, let it go. A river, as he passed it hailed him χαῖρε Πυθαγόρα. He was present, at the same time, at Metapontum in Italy and Tauromenium in Sicily. Human credulity has been exercised to the utmost, on the persons, talents, and character of that extraordinary man.---Others have had smaller portions of similar fame. Pliny saith, Empedocles recovered a woman, who had been dead seven days. Suidas affirms that Epimenides, the Cretan, being sent by his father to bring home some sheep, and tired with exercise or heat, fell asleep for fifty seven years. Laertius says, he received nourishment from the Nymphs, in the hoof of an ox; but that he was never seen

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to eat. He often underwent a resurrection; his soul quitting his body and returning when he pleased. The intelligent Athenians gave credit to his pretensions; he was solemnly sent for to lustrate the city in a plague, and it was believed he had prophesied the Persian invasions.

The history of every considerable state is marked with similar characters: it is the business of the tutor to place them before his pupil; whose judgment alone can discriminate them, to any useful or valuable purpose.

The pretensions of supernatural personages are, at this time, in so much discredit, that parents seldom render them subjects of enquiry. Where popular prejudices are deemed of any consequence, either to the preservation of power or the acquisition of influence, a silent species of complaisance is recommended respecting objects of popular reverence.—But an opinion has occasionally and extensively prevailed, that moral, like physical disorders, require external means; that nature has within her, the general springs of preservation and order;

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but when by any means deranged, she has not a restorative power; and that a moral recovery requires supernatural instruction.

The interposition of mercy, on repentance, is conceived to be the principal instrument of this recovery; and the great proof of the necessity of revelation.—The greater part of my time has been employed in the recovery of errors; my attention has been often and anxiously directed to the expedients of all revelations to restore injured or lost principles; but I should be extremely sorry to have an affectionate interest, where any means were relied on, which did not induce into action or co-operate with, the restorative powers of the human constitution.

It is my duty in the prosecution of the design before me, to state to you the general pretensions of moral medicine, that in the preservation or recovery of your children's principles you may adopt those means, which may appear the wisest or the best.—If I should not appear to incline to your opinions; you will impute it to error, not to design; for you know, I cannot have a motive to mislead you.

Though

Though dissertations have been given on the subject, it may yet remain to be considered, whether penitence, attended by an intire change or reformation, be possible in all vicious characters? Penitence being the anchor of offenders, who have not lost the desire of recovering themselves; if there be no dependance on its aid, they can have no remedy or hope. That a man, when detected in a crime, will be sorry, and will resolve never more to commit it; may be probable: that feeling the natural consequences of misconduct, in any inconveniences or miseries, he may regret extremely he has done wrong, and determine not to repeat the crime—may also be probable: but that he may be induced to change his principles, dispositions, or habits, is not in all cases demonstrable.

The manner of correcting errors, is very important, in the period of education, immediately preceding the establishment of a fixed passion. This induces parents or preceptors to call in the aid of religion; and the consideration of the religious doctrine of penitence cannot be avoided by those who would

would conscientiously discharge the offices of education.

A youth is detected in the commission of a crime, and he is overwhelmed with shame or terror by the detection. In committing the crime, he was pursuing an inclination, or obeying a habit. The influence of his disposition, or his inclination to the crime, is so effectually suspended by shame or fear, that he may believe it will not return. But this would be believing a current will not flow, because occasional circumstances have ruffled its channel; or that the functions of the human body may be changed by temporary suspensions. We see, accordingly, persons depending on this kind of repentance, are obliged to have recourse to it frequently, and find themselves in the habit, sinking into wretchedness.

Artful men perceived the advantages they might take of the credulous in this business. To the natural horror attending the discovery of crimes, they annexed future inexpressible misery; and they made that repentance which is unavoidable, which may have some tendency to reformation, a con-

dition of immediate forgiveness. In that manner, they secured men in the paths of iniquity; for they took off the edge of sorrow, which, though it imply not the idea of recovery, might be improved to produce it.

No man commits crimes, because he prefers vice to virtue, or happiness to misery; as no man is guilty of intemperance, because he is indifferent to health. The dispositions or habits leading to vice, are produced and fixed, in the same manner with those which subject us to bodily disorders. If it be difficult, if it be nearly impracticable, by appealing to obvious facts, to govern the little inclinations or habits which afford men trifling pleasures, and overwhelm them with disease or misery---what are we to expect in moral cases?---where effects are at great distances from their causes; where the illicit gratification of real passions, or the indulgence of those which are spurious, are attended with considerable pleasure; and where the intire tendency or disposition may be perverted?

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The disorders of the mind, like those of the body, have given rise to a profession; the numerous members of which must be supposed to have only common understandings, and to be influenced by common motives.——As in physic, the rule is to connive at irregularities, and to apply palliatives:—it is the interest of religious practitioners to connive at sin, and to apply the palliatives of repentance or absolution. It must be obvious, these doctrines rivet the chains of wretchedness on the bodies and minds of men: that we should have few persons languishing in disease, if the false hopes of a palliative art were taken away; and that the number would be considerably decreased who are consumed by mental disorders, if all hope from penitence, pardon or absolution, were withdrawn Sorrow, on being detected in the commission of crimes; sorrow on perceiving our errors have involved us in misery; have effects in atoning for vicious dispositions, similar to those of the gout or apoplexy in atoning for intemperance.—They are punishments ordained by nature: we have the alternative, to abstain from the

crime

crime or submit to them. Nature knows no such doctrine as forgiveness. Men may and ought to forgive. God is immutable. Every crime has its punishment, without the possibility of interposition: and there is nothing in nature analogous to our idea of atonement.

I do not offer these sentiments to alarm you. They may seem harsh to persons accustomed to consider God 'such a one as 'themselves.' They may appear otherwise to those who have rational views of moral arrangements and provisions.

The apprehensions of men in religion are so low, that they conceive their duty to consist in atonements. They are therefore employed in committing wickedness, or enjoying pleasure, which is the same thing in their opinion; the only concern being to balance accompts by those practices which are considered as atonements, or symbols of atonements; by which they may be screened from the displeasure of God, or from the torments of hell. In this case, there is not a possibility of recovery or reformation. It would be as reasonable to admit the sorrow and repentance of a mechanic,

chanic, to adjust the defects of his work; as that of a sinner to rectify the errors of his mind. If it require the interposition of the understanding, to lead an artist to the causes of irregularities in a machine--how much more to induce a man to trace intellectual springs of action, or to correct at their origin those erroneous and vicious habits, which irresistibly lead him in the path of misery.

You will, therefore, not wonder I state it as questionable, whether men in general are susceptible of such penitence as will rectify their dispositions, or change their characters. ---I have no doubt, that sinners may be sorry, or that priests may absolve them; but I dispute the benefit: nay, I affirm, the ecclesiastical transaction, as it is commonly managed, is an essential injury. If I were reduced to that degraded situation; and on performing penance, or receiving absolution, I were promised an inheritance in the kingdom of heaven, I would beg my confessor to give me the only valuable pledge of it, by affording me present peace of mind, by adjusting my desires in their proper directions, and by taking me out of the road

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of vicious pleasure, to that of virtuous satisfaction. This is not to be done by all the religious charms or incantations that have been ever invented. In some cases, it is impracticable; in many, it requires the utmost skill and attention of the understanding; in all, a process, different from sorrow, confession, or absolution.

When the mind has false tendencies, or, like the body, is growing awry; there are stages of the evil, in which it may be wholly corrected by moderate skill; others, in which it can only be partially corrected, and by the utmost skill; others, in which no skill or trouble can be of any advantage.

This subject is of great importance in every period of life. I can have no interest in wishing the means of reformation may be discoverable in nature, rather than revelations; or in revelation than in nature. I want the sure or effectual means; and care not where they are found.---It has appeared, however, that persons continuing in the principles or prejudices of common education, are not to be reformed; or they are to be frightened into a spurious kind of virtue, by

by the terrors of vice. Persons who have discarded those prejudices, who are become free-thinkers, have not generally substituted proper means of recovery for those they have neglected.

Free-thinkers are subject to errors and vices like other men. What means, inducements, or motives, do they make use of, to rectify their dispositions? This would be a question of importance, if it were to determine on the pretensions of nature and revelation. The motives to real freedom of opinion, and to licentious professions, are extremely different. The former can never be evil, whatever limits they may pass over: the latter are generally suspicious. It is the language of religious scandal, that men do not improve their morals as they discard their prejudices. Like most of the imputations of scandal, this is not true. The habit of thinking, produced by enquiry, has a tendency to correct moral errors. But the first consequence of relinquishing established opinions, is a disregard to that caution or hypocrisy which ever attend them. The veil drops off; the man's faults appear: they

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are attributed to recent infidelity; but they are the actual produce of his former religion.

In all classes there are pretenders; perhaps in none more than those of philosophy. If we attend to the familiar conversation of those in general who distinguish themselves by the denomination of free-thinkers, we shall perceive, that a species of licentiousness, not truth or virtue, is their actuating principle. Men of lively dispositions or ardent minds, are easily led into irregularities; the consequence of which they know to be present inconvenience. On slightly examining the terrors by which priests have governed men, they doubt their validity; they abruptly emancipate themselves, and assert the natural liberty of the human mind. This is the general merit of free-thinking. I have been conversant with persons of that denomination. Real and nominal philosophers; members of learned and of sacred professions; politicians, poets, and wits; are generally in that stage of free-thinking. They disbelieve; and, with the precautions suited to their views, they laugh at the general dogmas imposed on the ignorant.

They feel or speak like persons disentangled from morasses, where the people are stuck to the chin. It might be imagined, humanity would induce them to assist others. No, that would be romantic, because attended with inconvenience or danger. Nay, the more insidious or hypocritical, insinuate it would be injurious to the people; being accustomed to their circumstances, they would not be benefited by any exchange.

The philosophy of free-thinking, in its common professors, is not yet improved into a desire of substituting the means of improvement in virtue, or of restoring dispositions perverted, for the common processes of penitence. They divert themselves with the concern or apprehensions of those who have done wrong; or who weakly seek for mercy, because they fear the wrath of God. But if an emancipated votary of licentiousness, involves himself in error or perplexity---what is the consequence? He may, or may not be sorry, according to his situation respecting public opinion or the laws. He defies the terrors of superstition, with a disposition which shuts his ears to

the gentle suggestions of reason; he converts error or perplexity into infamy wretchedness; and perhaps, with affected heroism, puts an end to a life, he had neither skill to conduct, nor fortitude to endure.

The art of preserving the harmony of our principles and affections, is the art of living; the art of being happy.---Approaching it nearly in utility and importance, is the art of recovering our dispositions or minds; of restoring the balance which has been disturbed; and of rendering the habits of virtue as easy, as if never interrupted. On the importance of this art, the pretensions of the common doctrine of penitence are founded: and though wise men may despise the appendages of common doctrines; fools only would be unprovided with the means of healing or recovering a perverted mind.

END OF VOLUME THE THIRD.